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SOCIAL ORDER

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THE FAMILY LIVING WAGE

Due in Strict Commutative Justice

by Gordon George, S.J.

Saint Mary's College

A RECENT ARTICLE IN *America* made the point that Catholic social philosophy needs to come down to brass tacks.

It is one thing to preach sermons and to write learned articles about the moral obligation to pay the living wage. But for such to be more than mere exhortations, the obligation must be spelled out in terms of what actually constitutes a living wage.¹

That is true, and the article in question points out the way to the handling of a very complex and difficult subject.

Nonetheless, it must be borne in mind that there is not too much to be gained by figuring out the dollar content of the living wage until Catholic moralists are agreed as to the virtue involved in the obligation to pay that wage. Some time ago, an ISO Forum on *The Just Wage*² bore clear testimony to the remarkable variety of opinion on this vital question. The same variety of opinion is to be found in the standard works of moral theologians.³

L. J. Twomey, S.J., "Just Wage," *America*, 79 (1948) 348.

ISO Bulletin, 4 (June, 1946) 21-25.

Ubach, 1935, 1, n. 1010: "saltem ex iustitia sociali"; Sabetti-Barrett, 1931, n. 549, q. 3: "ex iustitia legali"; Davis, 1943, 1, 81: "It is sufficient to say that there is at least an obligation in charity"; Ferreres, 1932, 1, n. 1075: "ex iustitia legali"; Arregui, 1937, n. 405: "non tenetur probabiliter ex iustitia commutativa quamvis id certe postulat iustitia legalis et caritas". So, too: Genicot-Salsmans, 1936, 1, n. 647; Aertnys-

Source of Obligation

Even if the money value of a family living wage has been calculated to the last cent, so long as the obligation to pay cannot be held with certainty to be more than an obligation in charity, it will be extremely difficult in practice, as experience proves, to convince an employer of his obligation to pay it. For, in case of an obligation in justice, when one person owes another, say \$10, the debtor is simply bound to give the creditor the money; until he does so he stands the unjust possessor of another man's goods. But if one man apparently is bound in charity to give something to another, then A apparently is bound to give up some of A's goods to B. To determine whether the obligation really exists A must answer two questions: 1. What does B need? 2. Am I able to give it—the goods, the time, the work, the risk? And often enough A can honestly con-

Damen, 1944, 1, n. 960 (but see our note 21 *infra*); Prümmer, 1936, 2, 265.

Among those who hold for an obligation in strict commutative justice are: MERKELBACH, *Summa Theologiae Moralis*, 1935, 2, n. 554, 3: "... unde in statu normali ordinis oeconomici aestimatio communis salarium familiare tamquam minimum habebit. Et tunc illud jam debetur ex iustitia commutativa, quia ordinario operarii non habent intentionem huic salario renuntiandi nec etiam renuntiari possunt"; TANQUEREY, *Synopsis Theologiae Moralis*, 1937, 3, n. 808: "Jamvero tale medium nequit esse pro opifice nisi labor cui insit valor aequivalens salario familiari; alia enim media satis efficacia esse nequeunt; et ideo salarium familiare debetur ex iustitia commu-

clude that he does not have to deprive himself of that which is needed by B.

The difficulties involved in imposing this same obligation in social or legal justice are also great. Not only do moralists still disagree about the nature of social justice, but its application to the individual is often difficult to decide. Legal justice, though

clear in concept, presents difficulties in concrete application, and involves no duty of restitution.

In the case of all these virtues, the most serious problem arises from the difficulty of locating an obligation in an individual, since none of these virtues involves a contractual relationship.

Of Practical Value

The discussion of the nature of the obligation is consequently of real practical importance. Without certainty on the theoretical level, it is difficult effectively to teach, much less to "implement in practice," the doctrine of the living wage.

The importance of this whole question of the family living wage can be judged from its central position in Catholic social doctrine. A brief outline of the positive teaching of *Quadragesimo Anno* might run like this: the existence of the propertyless wage-earning class—the proletariat, is THE social question; the remedy is the wider distribution of property; the means is the paying of an adequate wage; the essential condition is the reorganization of social economy; the essential climate is the restoration of morals. Plumb in the centre of the picture we find wages.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that neither charity nor social, legal or distributive justice, nor any other virtue besides commutative justice governs the wage to be paid by any employer to any employee under normal circumstances. We do not deny that a given employer may be excused from the obligation to pay a family living wage—a point which we will treat thoroughly later—but we will attempt to show that when it is due it is due in commutative justice. As a consequence, failure to pay such a wage is the equivalent of theft and

tativa"; NOLDIN-SCHMITT, *Summa Theologiae Moralis*, 1941, 2, n. 611, 3: "Justitia commutativa exigit, ut pro labore operarii validi atque adulti merces familiaris solvatur"; WOUTERS, *Theologia Moralis*, 1932, 1, n. 917, b: "Merces familiaris debetur ex justitia commutativa"; LEHMKUHL, *Theologia Moralis*, 1910, 1, n. 1346: "Controversia quidem post publicatas illas literas encyclicas [*Rerum Novarum*] exarsit, utrum illud "alendo opifici" intelligendum sit de opifice solitario, an de opifice cum sua familia indigente; aliis verbis, num debeatur operario ex justitia [the context clearly implies commutative justice] merces quam vocarunt familiare. Quam posteriorem si modo rite explicetur, per se deberi, per accidens tamen deficere posse, et ipsa ratio et verba S. Pontificis persuadent"; VERMEERSCH, *Theologia Moralis*, 1937, 2, n. 450, b: "Quare ille valor per se ab operarum conductore compensandus est. Atque ex ratione allata, debitum justitiae commutativae"; MILLER, *40 Years After*, 1948, p. 71, 4: "But this does not mean that the wage due in commutative justice is one that will enable the family to subsist just from pay day to pay day. Not at all; it must provide the family with the comfort befitting their station...all this is comprised in the wage due in commutative justice"; LERNIHAN, *Commentary on Divini Redemptoris*, 1937, p. 95, 4: "The wages due in strict justice to the worker are those necessary for himself and his family"; CALLAHAN, *Catholic Attitudes Toward a Familial Living Wage*, 1935, p. 75: "Given the familial fertility of labor, an employer, if able, has a strict obligation in natural or commutative justice, to pay the familial wage."

Tanqueray cites the following as also holding for the obligation in commutative justice: Manning, *La Question ouvriere et sociale*, 1892; Liberatore, *Economia Politica*, 246-252; Nicotra, *Le Minimum de Salaire*, 1892; C. Perin, *Note sur le juste Salaire*, 1892; Pottier, *De Jure et Justitia*, n. 195; Gayraud, *Questions du Jour*, 1897; Waffelaert, *Collationes Brugenses*, 6 (1901); H. du Passage, *Etudes*, 20 mai 1921.

calls for restitution. If, because of impossibilities the employer is excused from the obligation to pay a full family wage, his total wage relationship with the employe is still governed by the virtue of commutative justice alone.

We will maintain that any opposing opinion can no longer be held as a solidly probable opinion from which there could arise practical certainty according to the principles of probabilism, because such an opinion is contrary to the authentic teaching of the Holy Father. Obviously our contention will stand or fall with our ability to demonstrate clearly the teaching of the Popes.

Meaning of Family Wage

It would be well to make clear at the outset that the family living wage we are talking about is the least that an employer may under normal circumstances justly pay. If a worker is engaged in unskilled work, the family living wage due to him can be called the minimum just wage. If a worker is engaged in skilled work, dangerous work, a position of responsibility, there will be due to him more than the minimum in order to constitute a just wage.⁴

It must be noted, also, that in this article we are concerned only with the obligation to pay a wage capable of supporting the entire family, the *family living wage*. This may be described in a general way in the words of Pope Pius XII:

A salary which will cover the living expenses of a family and such as to make possible by parents the fulfillment of their natural duty to rear healthily nourished children; a dwelling worthy of human persons; the possibility of secur-

ing for the children sufficient instruction and a becoming education; of forestalling times of stress, sickness and old age.⁵

Finally, the family living wage with which we are concerned is one which will meet the needs of a family of average size. This wage is generally spoken of as the *absolute* family wage. This wage must be paid even if the family is smaller than average, and is the wage due in justice even if the family is larger than average.

The *average* family is usually conceded in this country to consist of father, mother and three children. Where the family is much larger, we make no claims in justice for additional means of support through wages strictly so called. Family allowances come into play here, proportionate to the number of children in the family. Though the term is liable to be misleading, this latter arrangement is sometimes spoken of as the *relative* family wage. To our way of thinking, the added income is not a wage, in the commonly accepted sense of the term, but a social increment flowing from the distributive function of society towards its members who are assuming special burdens of behalf of society.

Argument from Papal Documents

It would be interesting to trace the historical development of the doctrines relating to wage justice, but it is not necessary for our purposes here.⁶ We propose to appeal directly to the teachings of the Supreme Pontiffs and the interpretations of those teachings as found in the statements of the ecclesiastical hierarchies in various countries. The appeal to such authority is espe-

⁵ Pius XII to a group of 25,000 Italian workers, June, 1943, *Catholic Mind*, 41 (1943) 1-9.

⁶ A good summary may be found in John D. Callahan, *The Catholic Attitude Toward a Familial Minimum Wage*, Catholic University of America, 1936.

The question of what constitutes an integral day's work will not be discussed here, although it is one of the factors which adds to the difficulty in computing wage justice.

cially necessary when moralists fail to agree. Indeed it is the usual procedure of the moralists themselves.

One important reason for differences of opinion found among moralists is that many of their treatises were written before the publication of *Quadragesimo Anno* in 1931. The doctrine of the family living wage had not been fully developed before that date. A few treatises which came after that great encyclical seem to have neglected its teaching and were content to have recourse to the works of older moralists.

Although the teaching of the Popes on this matter further clarified this problem, few moralists have revised their section on the just wage since that time. Even some of those who have written since 1937 have failed to recognize the important, and to this writer, decisive material bearing on the problem of wage which *Divini Redemptoris* presents.

Monsignor John A. Ryan as late as 1941 wrote:

The habit of looking at the wage contract as a matter of commutative justice is radically defective.⁷

The whole object of this first part of our article is to challenge that position on the grounds that it is inconsistent with the Pope's teaching.

Moralists' Problem

The reason why moralists have hesitated to place the obligation in commutative justice is that they believe themselves to be faced with a very practical difficulty rooted in the very nature of that virtue. To meet the peculiar demands of commutative justice, they believed, it is not enough to establish that a worker needs a family wage. They thought it was necessary to demonstrate that his work is worth that amount in *economic exchange* value. For commutative justice is

strictly *ad aequalitatem*, demanding perfect equivalence between the thing rendered and the thing due. Charity has wide open eyes and looks to the needs of all; commutative justice covers debts—she is blind and holds a perfect balance in her hand. Accordingly, some moralists, like Monsignor John A. Ryan, have abandoned commutative justice as the source of this obligation and have advanced theories that seem untenable in themselves and inconsistent with the encyclicals.

Our answer to this formidable difficulty will be given later. It will be substantially the theory of Father Nelson Breuning, who alone among the more important writers gives a point-for-point treatment of the wage doctrine of *Quadragesimo Anno* in the most authoritative commentary yet to appear—*The Reorganization of Social Economy*.⁸ It was written before the publication of *Divini Redemptoris*, but that encyclical is, in our opinion, a complete vindication of his interpretation.

Doctrine of Leo XIII

Today most Catholics admit that Leo XIII in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* taught that the *individual* living wage was due the worker in strict commutative justice. There were those who claimed that the doctrine of the family wage was also implicit in *Rerum Novarum*.

Let it then be granted that workman and employer should as a rule make free agreements, and in particular should agree freely as to wages; nevertheless there is a dictate of natural justice more imperious and ancient than any bargain between man and man; namely that the remuneration should be sufficient to maintain the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort.

Within a dozen lines of this passage the Pope continues:

⁷ *Distributive Justice*, Macmillan, 1942, p. 279.
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⁸ *Reorganization of Social Economy*, tr. Bernard W. Dempsey, S.J., Bruce, 1936.

If the workman's wages be sufficient to maintain himself, his wife and children in reasonable comfort, he will not find it difficult, if he be a sensible man, to practise thrift; and he will not fail by cutting down expenses, to put by some little savings and thus secure a small income.⁹

Malines Question

The years intervening between *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* saw great controversy over the family wage. Endless argument seemed to get the experts nowhere. The famous response of a Vatican authority to the query of Cardinal van Goossens of Malines further complicated the question. Cardinal Zigliara was appointed to reply to the following *dubium*:

An peccabit herus qui solvit quidem mercedem opificis sustentationi sufficientem, sed imparem ipsius familiae alendae, sive haec constet uxore et numerosa prole, sive haec non ita numerosa sit? Si affirmative contra quamnam virtutem?

The response read:

Non peccabit contra justitiam, poterit tamen quandoque peccare vel contra charitatem, vel contra naturalem honestatem.¹⁰

Since Cardinal Goossens wished to publish the text as a guide to the Congress of Malines in 1891, he wrote to the Holy See asking if the following preamble were suitable:

The Cardinal Archbishop of Malines having proposed to the Holy Father some doubts raised on the subject of the wage, treated in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, has received through the medium of the Secretary of State, H. E. Card. Rampolla, the following answers.

This direct implication of the authority of the Holy See in the response, apparently was not to the liking of the Vatican authorities, for the Secretary of State replied in these words:

Rerum Novarum, nn. 34, 35.

⁰ This response was given 39 years before *Quadragesimo Anno*. It is not to be found in any of the official *Acta* of the Holy See. Cited by Vermeersch, *Quaestiones de Justitia*, p. 536.

His Holiness has stated that you might change the preamble in the copy you sent to me to signify that Your Eminence having proposed some doubts raised apropos of the wage question treated in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, the gravity and delicacy of the subject having been recognized, a consultor was charged with examining the doubts submitted and with declaring his opinion in the matter, and this was done promptly, giving appropriate answers to all the questions.¹¹

Vermeersch, who treats this whole question with great clarity and cogency and argues that the authority of the Holy See was not involved in this response, tells us that:

As a result of his correspondence [with Cardinal Rampolla], Cardinal Goossens judged it useless to publish the responses for which the Holy See assumed so little responsibility.¹²

Nevertheless, vigorous controversy continued. The clash and exchange of opinion was in reality preparing the way for a final pronouncement of the Holy See.

Teaching of Pius XI

Pius XI approached the matter in his encyclical *Casti Connubii* where, noting that "straightened circumstances" placed grave difficulties in the way of the perfect observance of God's commandments and conjugal integrity, he writes:

And so in the first place, every effort must be made to bring about that which Our Predecessor of happy memory has already insisted upon, namely that in the State, such economic and social methods should be adopted as will enable every head of a family to earn as much as, according to his state in life, is necessary for himself, his wife and for the rearing of his children, for "the laborer is worthy of his hire." To deny this or to make light of what is equitable, is a grave injustice and is placed among the gravest sins by Holy Writ; nor is it lawful to fix such a scanty wage as will be

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹² The incident is also well handled by Calahan, *op. cit.*, pp. 77ff.

insufficient for the upkeep of the family in the circumstances in which it is placed.¹³

It will be noticed that the Holy Father does not use the words "commutative justice." But he does state the reason for the paying of the family wage—"the laborer is worthy of his hire." This indicates that the value of the laborers' work is equivalent to the family wage. Moreover, the reference to Holy Writ is given in a footnote—Deut. xxiv, 14, 15, where we read: "*reddes ei pretium laboris*" otherwise, "*reputetur tibi in peccatum.*" It is clear enough that Deuteronomy is referring to commutative justice, and although there is no explicit question of the family wage in this passage of scripture, still it is significant that the Pope, in speaking of the family wage, refers to a text where strict justice is the point at issue.

Lengthy Treatment Given

In *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI devotes considerable space to the treatment of the whole wage question, without explicit mention of family living wage. We shall refer here only to those parts which have reference to the question of commutative justice. Introducing his subject the Pope writes:

Let us turn therefore to the question of wages, which Leo XIII held to be "of great importance," stating and explaining where necessary its principles and precepts.¹⁴

The Latin text has, "*declarando et evolvendo*," so we are prepared for some advance over the doctrine of Leo XIII.

That the Pope is considering the entire question of wages in the light of the virtue of justice is abundantly clear from his next statement.

In estimating a *just wage*, not one consideration alone but many must be taken

into account. According to the wise words of Leo XIII: "Before deciding whether wages are fair, many things have to be considered." (*Mercedis justum portionem non ex uno sed ex pluribus*... (Emphasis inserted). [ASS, 123 (1931) 199]

The Holy Father then comments on some of these "things that have to be considered." The first is the individual and social nature of labor.

Where the social and individual character of work is neglected, it will be impossible to evaluate the work *justly* and pay it according to *justice*.

Haec ergo nec juste aestimari, neque ad aequalitatem rependi poterit, ejus naturae sociali et individuali posthabita (Emphasis inserted) [ASS, 23 (1931) 200].

It is still then, a question of justice. What kind of justice? For the moment we shall not say, although "*ad aequalitatem*" means nothing else but commutative justice. Certainly charity in no way enters into the Pope's doctrine of wages in *Quadragesimo Anno*.

Conclusions from Doctrine

Next we are told that conclusions of the greatest importance follow from this twofold character which nature has impressed on human work.

In the first place, the worker must be paid a wage sufficient to support himself and his family.

Note once again, that the Pope is professedly dealing with wages; that he has set himself the task of laying down some principles for "estimating a just wage"; that he has entered into a consideration of the individual and social nature of labor so that it may be justly evaluated and paid "*ad aequalitatem*." His first conclusion then, from this twofold nature of labor is that the worker *must* be paid a family wage. The laws of logic demand that we conclude that, other things being equal, justice requires the payment of the family wage.

In the paragraph immediately following the sentence quoted above, the Pope takes cognizance of conditions

¹³ *Casti Connubii*, America Press, 1936, p. 38.

¹⁴ *Quadragesimo Anno*, n. 63.

in which payment of the family living wage is impossible without detriment to the business and ultimate harm to the worker himself. There are two sets of conditions in which such a situation may arise.

One is the general "state of society" in which it is not always feasible to pay "a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs." In this case, as will be seen in a second article, "social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult workingman just such a wage," i.e., a wage "sufficient for the support of himself and of his family."

The second set of circumstances concern impossibility arising from unfair competition or other injustices on the part of other businessmen. Even bad management or want of enterprise "is not a just reason for reducing the workingman's wages." Of the last case, in which impossibility arises from the injustice of others, the Pope says:

But if the business in question is not making enough money to pay the worker an equitable wage because it is being crushed by unjust burdens or forced to sell its products at less than the just price, those who are thus the cause of the injury are guilty of grave wrong, for they deprive workers of *their just wage* and force them under pinch of necessity to accept a wage less than fair.¹⁵ (Emphasis inserted).

It is to be carefully noted that the Pope is still referring to the "wage sufficient to support himself [the workingman] and his family." He is speaking of unjust conditions which place a limitation upon an employer's ability to pay this wage. These circumstances must always be considered,

¹⁵ From the context the wage in question is clearly the family living wage. A fuller consideration of the obligations of employers who cannot pay such a wage belongs, as already indicated, to another section of our article.

and impossibility always excuses. Although the individual employer cannot be obliged to pay the full family living wage under these circumstances, others are responsible for the "injury" and are "guilty of grave wrong." If, with this understanding, the Pope is describing a situation in which he presupposes that other businessmen are violating commutative justice (and would be obliged to restore to the injured employer), then the logical conclusion is that the family wage was originally due from the employer in commutative justice.

Certainly Due in Justice

We are particularly interested in concluding at this point that the family wage is due in justice. Any other conclusion does violence to the thought of Pius XI. The present Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, likewise looks upon the family wage as due in justice. In his encyclical to the American Hierarchy, *Sertum Laetitiae*, he writes:

Now if the rich and prosperous are obliged out of ordinary motives of pity to act generously towards the poor, their obligation is all the greater *to do them justice*. The salaries of the workers, *as is just* are to be such that they are sufficient to maintain them and their families. (Italics inserted)

Then Pius XII quotes from *Quadragesimo Anno* the very passage we have been considering, in corroboration of his own statement.¹⁶

There is not lacking evidence, as

¹⁶ *Sertum Laetitiae*, n. 55. See also the famous Christmas Message in which Pope Pius XII refers to "...a just wage, which covers the needs of the worker *and his family*" (Italics inserted). The present Holy Father, however, has not stressed the problem of wage justice, or better, he has approached it obliquely—doubtless in view of the shattered European economies—by appealing for reforms which will make the family wage an economic possibility. He takes it for granted that the principles of *Quadragesimo Anno*, to

we have shown, from which we might have argued to the obligation in commutative justice. If there is still doubt about the nature of the obligation, the following argument leaves no room for any other conclusion.

Later on in his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, in a brief summation of the teaching that has gone before, the Pope tells us that:

...to avoid the reefs of individualism and collectivism, the twofold character, that is, individual and social, both of capital or ownership and of work or labor must be given due and rightful weight. Relations of one to the other must be made to conform to the *laws of strictest justice—commutative justice as it is called—* with the support however of Christian charity. (Italics inserted)

There is then in the mind of the Pope no other kind of justice involved in the mutual relations between employer and employee than that of commutative justice. If the family wage is due in any kind of justice, it is commutative justice. The only alternative conclusion would be the illogical one that the Pope has forgotten in one part of his encyclical what he has written in another. A strange oversight this would be, since the Holy Father is of set purpose reviewing what has already gone before.

Nor can we argue from this text that the family wage or any part of it is due in charity. Christian charity will certainly "support" the "relations of one to the other," but it will not

govern relations intrinsic to the wage contract. The very word *support* implies something extrinsic.

In a later passage of the same encyclical (N. 137), Pope Pius explains more fully what he means by the words "supported by Christian charity," (*Christiana caritate adminicula*):

Charity cannot take the place of justice unfairly withheld, but, even though a state of affairs be pictured in which every man, at last receives all that is his due, a wide field will nevertheless remain open for charity. For justice alone, even though most faithfully observed, cannot move indeed the cause of social strife, but can never bring about a union of hearts and minds.

In all this section of some 30 lines, on the operation of charity in social and economic life, there is not a single mention of wages.

There are other possible applications of charity. The worker, for example, must help the employer in his grave difficulties; he will be led by charity to cooperate with his employer even beyond the requirements of justice. Likewise the employer, though he has obligations in charity to all men, yet will have special ones to his employees who, in virtue of their close association, are more intimately bound to him than the ordinary run of men.

A charity which deprives the workingman of the salary to which he has a strict title in justice, is not charity at all, but only its empty name and hollow semblance. The wage-earner is not to receive as alms what is his due in justice.¹⁷

Summing up our review of *Quadragesimo Anno*, we can say with Father Nell-Breuning:

The Pope clearly, expressly and exclusively subjects the amount of wages to commutative justice.¹⁸

Therefore, if the employer has any obligation to pay a family living wage, it is an obligation in strict jus-

¹⁷ *Divini Redemptoris*, n. 49.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

which he refers repeatedly, are sufficiently clear.

To the *Semaines Sociales* meeting in Paris, Pius XII wrote on July 19, 1947:

"We should like for Our part to emphasize a point on which sensible people today are agreed, namely, that the highly important question of dividing up the social product has by this time received sufficient treatment. A more urgent problem requires our immediate attention. We must make sure that goods are made available for the use of men, and in increasing quantities. In a word, production is the problem of the hour." (*Catholic Mind*, 45 (1947) 683.

ice. When it is not due in strict justice from any given employer, it is not due from that employer in virtue of any other title.

It must be admitted that the Pope does not say in so many words that the family wage is due in commutative justice, and we must record in all frankness that some very keen minds, Vermeersch, who teaches this doctrine, for example, have been unable to find in *Quadragesimo Anno* explicit authority for the obligation in commutative justice.¹⁹

It was as though he wished to settle these doubts that Pius XI returned to the question of wages in *Divini Redemptoris*. In a passage which reviews in brief but incisive phrases the doctrine of *Quadragesimo Anno* he states.

Our own Encyclical on the *Reconstruction of the Social Order* (*Quadragesimo Anno*), adapted these principles [on the question of labor] to present needs. Then insisting on the age-old doctrine of the Church concerning the individual and social character of private property, we explained clearly the right and dignity of labor, the relations of mutual aid and collaboration which should exist between those who possess capital and those who work, *the salary due in strict justice to the worker for himself and for his family*....²⁰ (Italics inserted)

There can be no question of the Pope's doctrine after such an explicit statement. However you may wish to explain it, the Pope says that he taught in *Quadragesimo Anno* that the family wage is due in strict justice.²¹

Words of Bishops

Looking to the pronouncements of the Hierarchy we find strong corroboration.

¹⁹ "Quonam autem titulo merces talis debetur id silentio premitur."

Periodica, 20 (1931) 67, 237. Vermeersch, nonetheless, maintains his own opinion that the family living wage is due in commutative justice.

²⁰ *Divini Redemptoris*, n. 31. Vermeersch did not live to read this encyclical. There are two official texts printed in the *Acta*. The Italian, probably the original, reads:

In its masterly presentation of Catholic social teaching, *The Church and Social Order*, the American Hierarchy states:

The first claim of labor, which takes priority over any claim of the owners to

"Il salario dovuto per stretta giustizia all'operario per se é per la sua famiglia," and the Latin: "Et mercedem, quae opificibus ex districta iustitia debetur, sibi suaeque familia necessaria." Both: *AAS* 29 (1937) 118.

²¹ The only full-length commentary on *Divini Redemptoris* that we know of in English gives exactly the same interpretation. See, Lerhinan, *Sociological Commentary* on "*Divini Redemptoris*," pp. 94-95. Miller, in his recent commentary on *Quadragesimo Anno*, 40 Years After, has a cross reference to this text, stating that it is evident that the Pope teaches the obligation in commutative justice. *Op. cit.*, n. 71, 2.

Iorio is the only moralist we know of who refers to this text and attempts to distinguish. The reasons he gives are not too weighty: 1. Commutative justice is *ad aequalitatem*. This difficulty was outlined above, and we intend to treat it in the second part of this article. 2. The response to Cardinal Goossens. 3. Vermeersch did not find any authority in *QA* for the obligation in strict justice. Referring to the text from *Divini Redemptoris*, Iorio states: "Neque quidquam in contrarium erui posse videtur ex Pii XI litt. encycl. Div. Redempt." The only argument he adduces is a reference to the frequently quoted and frequently misunderstood passage in *Divini Redemptoris*, n. 51: "In reality besides commutative justice, there is also social justice...." *Theologia Moral*, 1946, 2, n. 894. That social justice has nothing to do with the mutual relations of employer and employee we have already indicated. This latter passage (*Divini Redemptoris*, n. 51) will be treated in the second part of the article.

Aertnys-Damen seem to have been led by this text of *Divini Redemptoris* to change a former opinion. In the 1943 edition, 1, p. 445, n. 4, they pronounce in favor of the strict obligation in justice to pay the family wage. However, in a later part of the same volume, perhaps overlooked in the revision, they say: "probabiliter etiam ejus familiae."

Ryan, *Distributive Justice*, 1942, who holds a view contrary to ours, entirely overlooks the text, as does Davis, *Moral Theology*, 1943.

profits, respects the right to a [family] living wage.... It still remains true that a [family] living wage constitutes the first charge on industry.²²

It is the general principle that obligations in justice take precedence over obligations in charity. There are exceptions, of course, in which the close bonds of charity make an obligation in this virtue more urgent than some obligations in justice. For instance, a man would be obliged in charity to support his parents even though some of his debts were unpaid. In the present context, however, it is clear that no such special conditions obtain. Since the claim to interest, dividends, profits is normally a claim of commutative justice, it can only be superseded by the claim of the family wage if that is also a claim in commutative justice—a prior and stronger one.²³

The Hierarchy of England and Wales in its 1942 pastoral on *The Social Question*, teaches the same doctrine.

Wages should be sufficient not only for a moderately comfortable life but sufficient for saving as well. *Less than this is unjust....* The payment of this wage should be the first charge on every industry.²⁴ (Italics inserted)

From the context, there is not the slightest doubt that both hierarchies are talking of the family living wage.

The Australian Hierarchy is even more explicit:

In paying the family wage an employer is simply giving his workers what belongs to them. He is handling their money, not his own. And just as a person has no

right to retain money belonging to another, so no employer where the industry can really afford to pay the family wage, is entitled to withhold it. By so doing he would be taking possession of money not his own, and *his conduct would be equivalent to theft....* In the same encyclical [*Divini Redemptoris*] the late Pope stressed that it was justice and not charity which demanded that workers be paid a family wage. In paying the family wage the employer is giving to the workers money which justly belongs to them: he is not simply being generous with his own money.

In withholding the family wage when he can afford to pay it, he is retaining money which belongs to someone else. *That is theft.*²⁵ (Italics inserted)

To sum up then, we believe, in view of the evidence presented, that it is no

clearly should not), it would still remain true, *a fortiori* that such payment will be a first charge on the individual industry also, because the Bishops say that this obligation takes priority over the claims of owners. Owners do not take their profit from industry in general, but from the individual company each owns.

The Bishops' treatment of wages runs parallel point for point with *Quadragesimo Anno*. The section in question is parallel with n. 71 of *QA*, where the Pope is clearly talking of the individual employer and employee. Throughout this whole part of their statement the Bishops use collective terms when referring to owner or laborer, but their avowed purpose is:

"...to make our pronouncements authentic and to interpret truly the mind of the Church, we follow closely the teachings of our late lamented Pontiff, Pope Pius XI" (n. 8).

Finally our interpretation of this passage is identical with that of the Australian Hierarchy which goes to the pains of explaining just what they mean by "first charge on industry." "The payment of the family wage is a first charge on industry. After the employer has obtained a family wage for himself, the worker is entitled to the payment of a family wage—that is, sufficient to ensure a proper livelihood for himself and his family—before any profits accrue to the employer." (Italics inserted).

²⁴ *Catholic Mind*, 40 (October 22, 1942) 24.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 39 (August 22, 1941) '2.

²² *The Church and Social Order*, nn. 40, 42.

²³ It may be objected to this passage that, inasmuch as the claim is represented as a charge on industry, the virtue of social justice might be in question. However, as we have seen from the clear teaching of Pius XI, social justice does not enter into the mutual relations of owner and worker. The objector might reply that the Bishops are not talking of mutual relations here, but of the relations between the workers and the whole industry. Even though that be admitted (and it

onger a solidly probable opinion that the amount of wages to be paid is governed by any other virtue but commutative justice. We believe it to be certain, too, that the family living wage is due in commutative justice when the employer can afford to pay it. At what point the employer may be said to be able to pay we shall consider later.

No doubt many questions have been left unanswered. All we have desired to establish is this — *the Pope says so*, in unmistakable terms. The ground is now cleared to examine the how and the why and to answer possible objections.

It might be well before breaking off, however, to recall the force of an argument from the encyclicals. Writing Thirty-one - 1567 - Hilton 1808 For many years ago of the teaching authority of encyclicals, Father Vermeersch said:

Dum ita loquimur eam tribuimus his literis auctoritatem quae per se communis est Encyclicarum. Per eas enim solent SS Pontifices proponere *auctoritative doctrinam infallibiliter et exclusive securam* cui ut legitimi Pastoris et universalis Legislatoris, externus et internus debetur assensus; non tamen intensive summam quam possident explicant auctoritatem, nisi ea adhibent verba quae clara significant voluntatem definiendi. . . .²⁶ (Italics inserted)

And in the same context in which he mentions *Quadragesimo Anno*, the present Holy Father, speaking to the College of Cardinals last year, said:

By disposition of Divine Providence, the Catholic Church has formulated and promulgated its social doctrine. She points the path to be followed and no fear of losing possessions or temporal gains, of appearing less in harmony with modern civilization or less national or social, could authorize true Christians to deviate even a hair's breadth from this path.²⁷

²⁶ *Quaestiones de Iustitia*, 1904, p. 71, n. 2.

²⁷ *Catholic Mind*, 45 (1947) 454.



Capitalism and the World

Whatever may be appropriate to America, the fact is that what Americans call free enterprise no longer is accepted in most of the world. This is a truism no doubt, but it has not yet been recognized in this country. Even of those who are now on our side in Europe and the Far East, those whom we are supporting, the majority do not believe in free enterprise in the American sense. They believe in a monopoly of perquisites for themselves. The "American way of life," in either the economic or political interpretation, has little or no relevance in most of the world. For most of the world the choice is not between the American way of life and communist totalitarianism. It is between communist totalitarianism and a kind of totalitarianism or quasi totalitarianism which allocates both power and wealth to a small privileged group.

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PRESIDENT VERSUS CONGRESS

1949

Unsettled Questions New Government Must Face

by George A. Curran, S.J.

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THE NEXT FEW MONTHS may mark an important turning point in the power struggle that has been going on between President and Congress for the last century and a half. The answers to be given to three pending questions will largely determine whether there will be a change in the struggle and what direction that change will take. The questions pending are: 1. Will the states ratify the proposed amendment limiting presidential tenure? 2. What action will Congress take on the report of the Hoover commission? 3. Will the coming session of Congress be able to utilize the policy-making features of the 1946 Congressional Reorganization act?

Presidential Terms Cut

The proposed Constitutional amendment limiting presidential tenure got its final congressional approbation on March 21, 1947. The important part of this proposal reads:

No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.¹

The purpose of this amendment is to limit the tenure both of a president and of a vice-president who succeeds upon the death of his predecessor. By the amendment, a president is limited to two terms, whether consecutive or interrupted. In the case of a vice-president, the restriction is more complex. If the portion of an uncompleted term which he fills out is more than two years, he may be elected for only one additional term. If the portion is less than two years, he may be elected for two full terms. Consequently, the maximum period in which an elected president may serve is eight years. The maximum for a vice-president who succeeds is 10 years.²

² If the proposed amendment had been part of the Constitution from the beginning of the nation, it would have changed this course of presidential tenure only once in our entire history. President Franklin D. Roosevelt would have been prevented, by the terms of the amendment, from standing for election in his third term.

Only eight presidents in the history of this country have served two or more terms. They are: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Grant, Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and Cleveland. In addition to these, Lincoln and McKinley were elected to second terms, but died in office.

Under the terms of the amendment, the following vice-presidents who succeeded to office through the death of presidents would have been eligible for only one further full term: Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur, Theodore Roosevelt and Truman, since all of these served more than two years in their first term. Vice-president Coolidge, since his partial term was only for one year, seven months, would have been eligible for two full elected terms.

¹ *Cong. Rec.*, 93 (March 21, 1947) 2467-2468.
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While between 1789 and 1941, 219 amendments to limit presidential tenure were proposed, the current proposal is the first to have secured the approval of both houses. If past history is any index for prophecy, this present proposal stands more than a fair chance of success. "Every amendment presented to the states since the Civil war, with the lone exception of the child labor amendment received speedy approval."³

The fate of the present amendment should be decided during the coming year since the legislatures of 40 of the states meet only in odd-numbered years, and the proposal was too late for the consideration of most of them in 1947.

Recognize Executive Branch

The Hoover commission, charged with the task of drafting plans to increase the efficiency and decrease the cost of the executive branch of the government, must report to the new Congress within 10 days after the latter meets in January, 1949. However, the important contribution this report will make in the consideration of presidential - congressional relations lies not so much in the field of efficiency and economy as in the impact the proposed changes may have upon the relative control of executive agencies vested in the president and Congress.

From the lack of adverse criticism with regard to the purpose of the Commission and the appointment of its members, the Report should be received as an impartial and objective survey. As an example of the acclaim with which the idea of the Commission has been received, at the time of the appointment of the members, Arthur Krock wrote:

³ Everett S. Brown, "The Term of the Office of President," *American Political Science Review*, 41 (1947) 452.

There is no more political or partisan animation in the appointments than in the resolution sponsored by Senator Lodge and Representative Brown of Ohio by which the commission was created. And every one of the twelve has a special qualification for the work in view. Since very great public benefit can come from the commission's report, its birth in an atmosphere wholly free from politics of any kind is a circumstance of real importance.⁴

Conclusions Forecast

As to the possible nature of the final Report, we have two preliminary indications. Mr. Hoover in a recent address to the National Press club, while stating that no final decisions have been made by the Commission, predicted that there would be some bold and drastic recommendation. The only specific recommendation he listed has to do with the president's delegation of his supervisory function to Cabinet members: "Some of this executive-department work will have to be delegated. More 'operating Vice-Presidents'—that is, more responsibility on Cabinet members—is the answer. The President must be relieved of some of this administration of these small agencies running around loose."⁵

One member of the Commission, Mr. James Rowe, Jr., made a second opinion. Referring to the question whether the president or Congress should be in charge of supervising administration, Mr. Rowe remarked that the only man able to discipline the bureaucrats is the president of the United States.⁶

It is likely that, in the event of a Dewey victory, the Hoover commission's recommendations will be accepted readily — at least those that

⁴ *The New York Times*, 96 (July 18, 1947).

⁵ *The Courier Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, 188 (September 15, 1948).

⁶ James Rowe, Jr., "Cooperation or Conflict? The Presidential Relationships With an Opposition Congress," *Georgetown Law Journal*, 36 (1947) 15.

have to do with delegation of the president's administrative powers. There seems to be close resemblance between the recommendations being developed by the Commission and the popular rumor that administrative details are to be entrusted by Dewey to his vice-presidential running mate.

A further connection between a Dewey victory and the Report is related in a current periodical:

He [Dewey] would take office less than a week after the commission makes its report to Congress. Thus that report could rank in importance alongside next year's budget message or even the annual inaugural address itself.

Dewey conveniently has a man on one of the commission's advisory committees—New York State Budget Director John Burton. And Dewey's counsel, Charles Breitell, in working on an outline of a Dewey program, is keeping tab on the commission's activities. Another top Dewey advisor, McGeorge Bundy, is the son of Harvey H. Bundy, Assistant Secretary of State under Hoover and head of the commission's foreign policy inquiry.⁷

Congressional Reorganization

The third question concerns the Congressional Reorganization act of 1946. Carrying out the provisions of this Act has been handicapped in the past by the limited number of staff assistants. The question now is whether the provisions, especially those regarding establishment by Congress of a maximum national budget, will work out in practice.

It has been admitted, even by one of the proponents of the Reorganization act, that the provision relating to the legislative budget was an outstanding failure in the Eightieth Congress. He contended however, that the chief fault lay in the lack of an adequate staff and the consequent absence of advance reports prepared before

the convening of Congress in January.⁸ The importance of the present test of the legislative budget is apparent from the fact that it is one of the chief tools by which Congress could assume the initiative in the formulation of a unified legislative program.

Policy Control Fight

These three questions, and incidentally the 1948 presidential election, are of great significance in the power struggle between the president and Congress. Their significance can best be understood against the background of a struggle for dominance in the formation of policy, for policy formation is the key to popular support.

In this field of policy formation, the president enjoys special advantages. This is particularly true today because the government is no longer looked upon merely as a protector of the existing order. Instead, the idea that it should be active and reformist has received general social acceptance. Consequently, whatever branch of the government takes initiative will, generally speaking, receive popular support.

By virtue of his office, the president enjoys a natural advantage because of his responsibility to initiate policy. His traditional messages to Congress on the state of the nation and *motu proprio* messages give him a great advantage. He is, moreover, a natural center of public attention. The whole country has a voice in his election. Every statement of public address he

⁸ A. S. Monroney, *Cong. Rec.*, 93 (July 26 1947) 10544. For a concurring opinion as to the cause for failure, see, James A. Maxwell, "Fiscal Program of the 80th Congress," *Harvard Business Review*, 26 (1948) 72. Representative Cannon, former chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, expresses a different view in "Congressional Responsibilities," *American Political Science Review*, 42 (1948) 307-316.

⁷ *Business Week*, n. 993 (September 11, 1948) 25.

makes is bound to enjoy complete coverage by press and radio; whereas, replies or dissent on the part of leaders of either party are by no means certain of gaining an equal audience. Thirdly, being only an individual and having the resources of the executive branch of the government at his disposal, it is easier for him to formulate a unified policy program than for legislative party leaders. They are confronted with the problem of sectional interest and conflicting personal ambition.

Foreign and Domestic Affairs

Thus far, in the field of foreign affairs, presidential power of initiative has been all-inclusive. For all practical purposes, the power of Congress in foreign relations is purely negative. The only time the president need have recourse to Congress is to confirm or reject an accomplished fact in the form of a treaty, or for enabling appropriations to sustain some aim of his foreign policy.

In domestic policy formation, the advantage of initiative held by the president through his messages to Congress is tremendous. In recent years, these messages have received wide-spread publicity by politicians and journalists. Frequently, the session of Congress following each annual address is rated by the public in terms of fulfilling or rejecting presidential legislative requests, with credit for accomplishment being given to the president.

Amendments Limit Power

The proposed constitutional amendment limiting tenure of the president will have an important effect upon presidential policy making. To say the least, it will make presidential power somewhat more discontinuous. Since the amendment would merely restore the state of things that existed

before the breaking of the no-third-term tradition, we can expect the previous fluctuation of presidential influence to revive. After the congressional elections in the second year of a president's second term, when patronage incident to the beginning of the new term is exhausted, Congress can, as it has in the past, ignore the president as a political force. Individual congressmen can safely conclude that support of the second-term president's program will not be an issue in the next election. Thus, through the proposed amendment, the prospect of personal rule would be hedged in by a time restriction.

The Hoover commission's report will touch upon an important segment of presidential policy-making power. In recent years the role of the federal government in the field of domestic reform has vastly increased. Moreover, the extremely complex problems of framing social legislation to meet varying circumstances and sectional characteristics widely different in an area as great as the United States have compounded the difficulty. The result is that greater discretion has been left to the executive in carrying out policy and formulating subsidiary principles of policy. Statutes have been phrased so as to make large and relatively general grants of power to the executive. Further specification and application have been left to decisions of the executive agencies.

President's Power Great

As the result of this trend, even within the scope of an original grant, the president has been able to affect his own social or political aims by the selection and control of administrative personnel. In this way it is sometimes possible to achieve ends that may even be at variance with the mind of the legislators.

It is fruitless to speculate what the Hoover commission will have to say

about this trend or what may be the results of the Commission's report upon this presidential power. It is likely, however, that by bringing the whole question of executive agency reform before Congress, the report will introduce the possibility of important changes.

Legislative Budget

In a sense, next year's test of the legislative budget is the most important of the pending questions touching on policy formation. The basis of successful policy formation is a sufficiently inclusive and well-enough integrated plan. It must include all important issues requiring settlement in the near future and take into account the interaction of these issues and their solutions.

Thus far Congress has worked on a piecemeal basis, settling each issue as it arises—and usually by means of a compromise formula. The importance of the legislative budget is that it would provide a base pattern, incorporating the congressional estimate of the relative importance of pending projects insofar as that importance can be reflected in terms of appropriation.

Consequently, we can see how important will be the outcome of the legislative budget in the coming session of Congress. If control of both Congress and the presidency fall to one party next year, it should be relatively easy for Congress to evolve its legislative budget. Under these circumstances, if the budget should be shelved in the next session of Congress for reasons of party harmony, this will be tantamount to an admission on the part of Congress that it is inferior to the president in formation of policy.

The reason for this is evident. If a legislative budget or, for that matter, any uniform bipartisan policy formation by Congress is shelved, Congress

will be acknowledging the superiority of presidential leadership. In that event, congressional policy formation will merely be the resort in those deadlock years when different parties control the president and the Congress.

Failure Will Be Harmful

Failure of Congress to provide integrated and independent policy formation—and this may be a moral impossibility inherent in the nature of a bipartisan legislature—will commit the country to the further discontinuous process of presidential leadership. Presidential leadership will be handicapped in two ways. First, the presidential power is largely a personal thing upon which the proposed amendment limiting his tenure would place a more definite time restriction. Secondly, there is the further periodic breakdown in the exercise of that power resulting from a change of majorities in Congress within a presidential term. In the mid-term elections, the presidential party may lose its majority in one or both houses of Congress.

This change has been the rule rather than the exception. It has occurred in 27 presidential administrations, with both Senate and House going over to the opposition seven times, the House alone 14 times, and the Senate alone six times.

Thus, in the light of history and barring a sudden decrease of influence on the part of one of the major parties, mere party leadership on the part of the president, extending to congressional control, would offer no enduring solution to the problem of providing a stable and continuous policy formation. Since control of Congress by the president has been lost so often—and can be lost in the future—we still will not have a key to the problem of providing a stable and continuous policy formation unless Congress assumes leadership.

State Influence Grows

One further factor, emphasized by the practice of President Truman and the promise of Mr. Dewey, that may influence presidential-congressional relations is state-federal cooperation through the executives. President Truman announced on January 30, 1948, that before taking action in a showdown with John L. Lewis over the abrogation of the mine workers' contract with the federal government, he had sought the opinions of the state governors.

President Truman further remarked that as an implementation of the Jeffersonian theory of delegated powers, he would, in the future, frequently have recourse to the governors for a clear picture of differing local reactions.⁹ Similarly, in a recent conference with Governor Bradford of Massachusetts, Mr. Dewey stated that cooperation of the federal government with the states would be an important aim of his administration, with the cooperation to be achieved largely through a committee of the Governors' conference working as a "top-level" group with federal officials.¹⁰

⁹ *The New York Times*, 97 (January 30, 1948).

¹⁰ *The Courier Journal*, Louisville, Kentucky, 188 (September 12, 1948).

The significance of this development is that it provides the president with easy access to an official commitment of national sentiment independent of Congress, which had previously been the sole organ for such a commitment. Its use in the emergency with the mine workers' union protected the President from the charge of an arbitrary use of power, while at the same time he by-passed Congress.

In summary, with regard to the three pending questions, if the states fail to ratify the proposed amendment, if Congress takes no significant action on the report of the Hoover commission and if no further attempts are made to formulate in advance an overall legislative policy, then the position of the president will be considerably strengthened. Failure on the part of Congress to act will serve as a confirmation of the powers he already holds.

If positive action is taken on the first two issues and not on the third, no adequate alternative will be provided for the curtailed presidential prerogative.

In any event, the outcome of these issues will be of importance.

Christian Conservatism

The myopia of some Christians is due to a conservative spirit which instinctively chooses the established order, the comfortable status quo, under the guise of protecting and ensuring peace for religion, even when the established order has ceased to be anything more than organized injustice and a paralysis which is the harbinger of death. Such people confuse their Catholicism with a number of traditions, customs, institutions and associations which now suffer from a hardening of the spiritual arteries, and which are mixed up with a variety of elements which are, to put it mildly, foreign to Christianity.

Reverend John Fitzsimons

THE FRENCH CHURCH AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Clergy Meeting at Lille Studies Social Apostolate

by Andre Retif, S.J.*

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IF A VISITOR TO FRANCE had only a few days at his disposal and wanted to learn what he could about the French clergy, I would advise him to take part in the "Congres de l'Union des Oeuvres."

This convention meets every year during Easter week, from Wednesday morning until Friday evening. The *Union des Oeuvres* is a semi-official organization in Paris, originated by M. l'Abbe G. Courtois, which has as its purpose to coordinate the various movements of the apostolate, especially as a means of assistance to the parish clergy. The Union publishes a monthly magazine, *L'Union*.

The first convention of the Union took place at Angers in 1858; the 63rd meeting was held this year at Lille. Since the Liberation and the end of the war, these congresses have acquired an importance and a vitality they have never had before and have exercised a tremendous influence upon French Catholic life.

Emphasis on New Methods

The Besancon congress of 1946 centered upon the problems of the missionary parish. Outstanding was the experience of the Colombes priest team, directed by M. l'Abbe G. Michonneau, which has been fully reported in the Abbe Michonneau's book, *La*

Paroisse. Communaute Missionnaire. This Congress demonstrated how important it is to transform all parishes into instruments of apostolic conquest. The Congress and the book have had a strong influence in and beyond France.

The Bordeaux congress of 1948 treated of the modern problems of evangelization and presented the experiences of some outstanding apostles of present-day France, such as Father Motte, O.F.M. and P. Thivollier, in reorganizing the parish missions.¹

These Congresses have a friendly and sympathetic atmosphere that is altogether unique. In 1948, the meeting was held at Lille. Imagine the town swarming with 1,800 priests, three cardinals, from Paris, Malines and Lille, about 20 bishops and some 800 nuns and laymen, all uniting in a delightful spirit of Christian charity. This year delegations from foreign countries were more numerous than ever before. There were priests from Portugal, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Spain, Hungary and a large number from Belgium. These latter had only

¹ Reports of the Congresses can be secured from the Center of the Union, 31 rue Fleurus, Paris, 6. The title of the first, *Paroisse Communautaire et Missionnaire*. The second is called *Evangelisation*. French Catholicism has drawn from these works a new spirit of zeal adapted to modern times to cross the Franco-Belgian border and attend the convention.

* Translated by Albert Dujardin, S.J.

Criticism Freely Made

The most striking feature of these sessions was its zeal for work and its simplicity. One laywoman remarked to me that she was surprised and edified to see the complete good will of the priests and their eagerness to learn from anyone. During the meetings, everyone is permitted to speak and to express his opinion as frankly as possible. Often a layman will point out quite freely what he expects in the priest, and priests will complain respectfully but bluntly about difficulties raised by episcopal administration. All this is done in a spirit of friendliness, humility and, above all, of eager zeal for the progress of God's kingdom on earth.

The meetings are not all hard work. The congressists pray together, continue their lively discussions during meals, sing together. One of the high lights of the meeting was the sight of the entire Congress, garbed in multi-colored costumes, singing a triumphant *Te Deum*.

Work, however, is the principal objective. Each morning there is a long lecture at 9:15; at its conclusion there is a period for questions and discussion. At 11 the group is divided into smaller units for forums on special work. At the forums, each has an opportunity to explain his special project, its success, and his future plans. Others offer suggestions, and all exchange information.

Forums Explain Activities

More than 40 different activities were given an opportunity this year to explain their objectives and current program. Among these were the various youth movements, catechetical organizations, Catholic Relief, the *Ad Lucem* (the lay missionary movement). Through these forums, as much as through the lectures, Catholic France has an opportunity to evaluate

its living forces, coordinate their activities, and exchange views about various aspects of the apostolate.

At 5:30 each evening, another lecture is delivered by one of the leaders of the Congress. This is also followed by a second period for discussion and questions.

This year, for the first time, the Apostleship of Prayer held its annual convention simultaneously with the Congress and as a part of it. In this way it took its place in the active current of France's apostolate.

Four Groups Studied

At three in the afternoon, after time for a short visit to the city, the Congress is divided into four groups for specialized meetings on the various classes of people: workers, bourgeois, farmers, nuns. Nuns are given a special place because of their tremendous potential in the apostolate. At these sessions, the general principles presented in the lectures and the special forms of apostolate described in the forums are adapted to the mentality and needs of special groups. Men skilled in work with farmers, for instance, explain how truths can be presented to them.

In the late evening, there is a lighter meeting. Sometimes a film is presented or a more popular lecture given. This year on Thursday, for instance, there was a lecture by J. Folliet, a song session and an entertainment.

The subject of the Congress this year was called "Social Structures and the Parochial Apostolate," that is to say, the knowledge a priest should have of the various social groups of which his parishioners are members and the ways in which these groups can help or hurt the work of the parish. By structures was meant especially the physical groupings of people into neighborhoods, districts, quarters and

cantons, as well as the more commonly recognized familial, recreational, professional groups.

Conclusions Formulated

The conclusions of the Congress, drafted by the group and approved by the bishops in attendance, emphasize two ideas which will help to clarify the present account.

The first was that everyone must realize that no technique can supplant the working of Grace. This is essential, and the principal request of the laymen to the modern priest is that he be a spiritual man, a saint. The layman wants a pastor who is able to give him the thought and the strength of God, rather than a technician or a sociologist. Nevertheless, it remains true that the knowledge of concrete conditions of the life of his parishioners is normally to be a part of the sanctity of today's priestly apostles.

Moreover, it was concluded that it is more properly the work of the layman to animate from within and Christianize the social structures. He, and not the priest, is actively engaged in the family, in various professional activities, in the neighborhood, the city, in his milieu. It is his specific and irreplaceable part to transform all these social structures into something more humane and more Christian.

If a small minority of priests undertakes to be workers among the workers, this is not intended to supplant the lay leaders, but rather symbolically to draw the working class nearer to the Church by bringing the Church closer to the workers.

Social Knowledge Needed

It is the responsibility of the priest, however, to know with scientific precision the social complexes which deeply stamp the lives of workers and the influences which can be changed into aids to Grace. The priest also has

the responsibility to discover laymen who can be leaders, to form them in the Christian life, to communicate to them a spirituality, vivid and adapted to their milieu, which will be able not only to sustain them and to bring them to Christian perfection, but to transform the conditions of life for others.

The long, profound lectures of Professor G. Le Bras, of the Sorbonne, and Father P. LeBret, O.P., founder of the social study movement called *Economie et Humanisme*, both presented these major problems from a theological and sociological point of view.

Father M. J. Congar, O.P., professor in *Le Saulchoir*, gave a splendid outline of the theological concept of parish. He pointed out that the parish is much less an organization than is the diocese, that it resembles more the family, and that the pastor, by consequence, is to be more a father than a director or administrator.

Demand Research and Training

It was acknowledged in discussion that the reality in France was still far from conformity with the ideals held out in these lectures. Neither in the seminaries nor in the parishes has there been the prolonged study of social structures necessary for developing full understanding of these complex questions. For the present, study and analysis is still badly needed, but a beginning, at least, of practical realizations can be made.

M. l'Abbe Poutrain, pastor of a parish in an Alpine valley, explained how he had renewed and transformed his parish by giving to parochial life an orientation conformed to the activities of his people, who are for the most part artisans and hosts to tourists. Others could have given accounts of the way their parishes had been revived by similar methods.

Generally, however, the Congress spent more time studying objectives for future work rather than past

achievements, chiefly because in France and perhaps throughout the world, so little of this type of work has yet been undertaken. Study and research of parish and social structure has only started, as M. LeBras, a specialist in these matters, testified.

Revise Pastoral Theology

There is great need for a complete re-studying of the science of pastoral theology to fashion it into an instrument adapted to the predominantly social problems peculiar to the 20th century. The fact, however, that study is still required should not discourage priests of today who are already at work in their parishes. Cooperation of priests and laity can do much to work out tentative solutions that will aid in the organization of the new science. Our generation will be proud to hand on to the next some precious elements of this science arrived at through many painstaking inquiries made in parishes and dioceses of France and other countries. Eventually we shall be caught up with the work, and then it will only be necessary to keep abreast of current changes in society or pastoral activity.

The work has already been inaugurated. As examples, M. Le Bras referred to the research conducted by Canon Boulard and his associates in rural areas and the outstanding work in pastoral theology done by such periodicals as the *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*, *Lumen Vitae* (Brussels), *Les Etudes*. He told also how useful the French National Center for Scientific Research finds the publications issued by *Economie et Humanisme* at l'Arbresle, near Lyons. This institute is just launching throughout France, under the auspices of the *Union des Oeuvres*, a general inquiry on parishes. M. Le Bras, himself, is just introducing in *Lumen Vitae* an investigation into the influence of milieux on the religious life of people.

The future is, therefore, full of hope if the efforts are continued and are well coordinated. M. Le Bras intends to extend his study to other lands and other religions by means of the missionary magazine *Rythmes du Monde*, published by the French Jesuits at Lyons.

Owner Explains Work

The high point of the Lille convention was reached in the report of M. M. Dagallier, a manufacturer from Grenoble. In the life and work of M. Dagallier we can see the fruit, splendid but still too rare, of the formation given to a man by years of intense, practical Catholic Action. He is a man who can claim without exaggeration to be a practical Catholic who lives a full Catholic life.

He is the father of 13 children, all living, between the ages of five and 26. "I believe," he said at the start of his address, "in the reality and the permanence of the sacrament of Matrimony." He is also very active in his social and professional milieux, as well as in French Catholic Action. He is the secretary general of Catholic Action for Independents. In all of these activities, as well as in his ordinary life in his parish and the Church, he could realize the rich treasures which his Catholic life and his apostolic training gave him.

His address dealt mainly with his experiences as owner of a business which employed about 1,500 workers and was delivered with a moving simplicity, modesty and Christian ardor which fired hearts and drew tears to the eyes of his listeners. Nothing could be more striking than the great wave of applause that sprang from the audience of bishops, priests and laity as he presented his account of the great things God was accomplishing in one man's life.

Practical Social Action

"Catholic Action," he said in his quiet, direct voice, "gave me first of all a constant concern for justice in the matter of wages, in appreciation of the workers' efforts (so rarely do we think to commend someone for his good work!), and in the fulfillment of the conditions of contracts."

He gave some examples: In 1943 a thoughtful study of workers' budgets, made by 70 Catholic, Protestant and Jewish manufacturers in a Catholic house of retreats, resulted in an increase in wages for all these employees despite the prohibition of the Government, which was then dominated by the occupying forces. This increase, in turn, led to a general increase in wages on the national level some three weeks later.

"In spite of government regulation of wages, we employers still remain responsible, and we bear collectively even the weight of the fault of those employers who do not fulfill their obligations to employees. It is for us to create the atmosphere required by justice, charity and sound joy in work."

He told the story of a workman who had been injured in an accident. An investigation showed that he had been responsible, and he was demoted. Believing himself innocent, he became discouraged and began to drink, while his family was becoming more and more impoverished and distressed. M. Dagallier took the case in hand, heard his story and ordered a new examination of the accident with the result that the verdict was changed. A foreman in the plant admitted that he was at least partly responsible, inasmuch as he had not foreseen and prevented this type of accident. The man was offered his old job and today is doing splendid work. He and his family have been saved.

There were many incidents of like nature, of misunderstandings and sometimes injustice. He told of one man

whom a foreman wanted to discharge. He seemed unable to carry out orders, but the employer finally discovered that the reason was simply that the foreman did not talk distinctly. The foreman was counselled about the problem; today the man is giving complete satisfaction and is a foreman himself.

Taught by Catholic Action

"Catholic Action," M. Dagallier continued, "gave me a sense of brotherhood. Continually I am haunted by these words: 'Whatsoever you do to the least of these my brethren, you do unto Me'." From the time those words struck him, it is Christ who receives Christ.

In order to foster the family spirit among his workers, he has special days on which all new workers, and often their families also, visit the whole plant to see its operation and to learn that they are part of an organization which is a huge enterprise.

While a young man is in his apprenticeship, M. Dagallier is in contact with his parents and pays close attention to his moral problems. Thanks to special courses, common laborers can complete apprentice training and become full workers in six months.

The industrial council takes a steadily increasing part in management of the plant and directs all services which will improve work conditions. The result is that there is a friendly, co-operative spirit between foremen and workers, between management at the higher level and workers, which continued even at the time of the recent strikes.

Seeks Full Christian Truth

"Priests," he said in conclusion, "must show us lay people what it means to be a Christian. They must teach us integral Christianity; they

must be demanding. They must stop giving us milk instead of the strong meat of the gospel. Give us a truly missionary and apostolic spirit towards all men. Do not let us look upon the Mass as a mere duty, but teach us to offer ourselves upon the paten, at the altar."

After this report, which, as Cardinal Lienart remarked, was an examination of conscience even for bishops, a priest from a workers' parish in Marseilles, who was called upon to respond to the address, boldly asserted, "I am greatly embarrassed at the duty of responding to M. Dagallier's address because, while I am almost willing to canonize him, I also find myself opposed to him since he represents for me the capitalist class."

This somewhat blunt form of address is an example of the holy freedom of the Christian word which characterized all the meetings. Even

when men are just and holy, the social environment may be utterly inhuman or scarcely human and must, consequently, be condemned and changed.

These brief notes are intended to give an impression of the profoundly friendly meetings. I add one characteristic incident. A permanent employee of the Catholic Action movement stated that during the Congress he had spent an hour and a half daily in prayer. "The good God desired that of me during these days—more intense prayer."

The apostolic zeal which thus manifests itself in the prayer of hundreds like him and which gives to the Church such youth and vitality shows clearly that the Church is always in its spring and that it can face the future hopefully. More than ever the Holy Spirit guides and forms it. The Church is the true youth of the world and it looks forward to a glorious future.

Fighting Communism

Years ago the threat was socialism. Now communism has been able to develop and spread because the condition of many workers continues to be so difficult, almost unbearable, that only a blind man could be surprised at the widespread threat of revolution. Our writers must show to their educated and cultured readers the wretched conditions in which many human beings exist in large cities, in industrial centers, and in a good many rural areas. In this work they must present the facts, even though they offend wealthy and privileged readers. And they should not look just at their own country or the part of the world in which they live. Christian charity demands that they pay attention to the vast areas of southern and eastern Asia where almost unbelievable social problems are arising.

R. P. J.-B. Janssens, S.J.
Acta Romana 11 (1947) 278

TRADE UNIONISM IN COSTA RICA

New Federation Battles Communist-Controlled Group

by Eladio Sancho
Saint Louis University

INTRODUCTION

COSTA RICA, a small, peaceful and very democratic nation, is the southernmost country of Central America. It covers a territory of 30,000 square miles with approximately 1,000,000 inhabitants. Due to its fertile soil and gentle climate, the people of Costa Rica are overwhelmingly engaged in agricultural activities. However in the cities, there are various types of industries, and an increasing tendency toward industrialization can be observed.

Religion and education are the two outstanding influences upon the people of Costa Rica. Approximately 95 per cent of the population profess the Catholic religion, and literacy has reached a point of 82 per cent through a campaign for compulsory education in effect for a long period of time. Although the ownership of land is more or less well divided into small proprietorships, some large landholders are still interfering with the general welfare of the country. However, new government measures are tending to eliminate this undesirable situation.

Under these favorable circumstances, a code of labor legislation was passed by the Government as an attempt toward a peaceful settlement of the labor problems of the nation.

Organized Labor

Around 1930 a group of young people, some of whom were law students, influenced by the theories of Karl Marx and the Communist system, began to feel that Costa Rica would be in a better position if the working classes were freed from oppression of the wealthy landowners and businesses of the country. They began at once to spread their Communistic doctrine wherever possible, especially among urban industrial workers. It was difficult for them in the beginning, since most of the workers refused to follow the imported doctrine, openly opposed to their Christian beliefs.

Nevertheless, the economic betterment promised by the Communist group appealed to the laborers, particularly to those who had neglected their Catholic practices. Consequently, progress was soon made by the group, new followers added, and in a short time a political party was formed with definite, Communistic tendencies. They selected as their leader Manuel Mora Valverde, a clever young lawyer. Some years after, with official political recognition granted by the Government and more developed tactics in propaganda, their ranks gradually swelled. Soon seats were gained in Congress by this faction, and since that time, Mora

Valverde has been elected as a Congressman with presidential aspirations.

Costarican Workers Confederation

The constant slogan of this leader and his close associates, in their speeches, writings and activities, has always been the attainment of better living conditions for the working classes and the economic improvement of the whole country. Therefore, their principal ancillary activity has been the organization of labor unions all over the country, especially in the larger cities. It is notable that these labor unions, organized into the Costarican Workers confederation, have often been used as an instrument for the political benefit of their leaders.

On the other hand, these leaders have emphatically declared that the rights of labor unions can be preserved only through strong political action on their behalf and against any external attempt aiming to thwart their purposes.

In spite of heavy opposition in the past, they have established a strong, well-disciplined organization. Aside from this, it must be pointed out that the Costarican Workers confederation became synonymous with the Communist party in Costa Rica. In 1943, the Party reached the highest point in its membership with approximately 20,000 partisans. Since that time, however, it has steadily decreased.

The Communist party in Costa Rica was disbanded as a result of the dissolution of the Third Communist International announced by Soviet Russia on May 22, 1943. A new political organization was formed under the name of "Popular Vanguard," and a new program was adopted wherein the bitter and rough aspects of the former were eliminated. This brought about confusion and dissatisfaction among the rank and file of the more radical

element of the former Communist party.

Making a general survey of the work done in the country by the Communist organizations, it can be easily recognized that, in spite of the bitterness of their methods and the danger of their disassociated doctrines, they have aroused in workers a great concern for the achievement of their rights by organized means. The outstanding influence exerted by their organizations in support of the Christian labor legislation passed in Congress in 1943 should also be considered as another of their contributions. Paradoxical though it may seem, the latter is true.

In spite of the two above-mentioned contributions, on the whole very little can be accredited to the Costa Rican Labors' confederation toward the peaceful settlement of disputes between management and labor in the country.

The Costa Rican Confederation of Labor "Rerum Novarum"

The most realistic attempt to give a peaceful solution to the labor problems has been made by the Costa Rican Confederation of Labor "Rerum Novarum," a new labor organization founded according to the social teachings of the Church. The Confederation has offered the working classes of the country the only possible hope of safeguarding their interests and fulfilling their aspirations. Many thousands of workers have joined this new organization, and, as a result of it, a substantial decrease has been suffered by the former Communist party.

History and Development

The whole plan of the Costa Rican Confederation of Labor "Rerum Novarum" began with a member of the Hierarchy in Costa Rica, Most Reverend Victor Sanabria, a man of great intelligence and extremely interested

in the social problems of the people. He became an archbishop and the spiritual head of the nation at the age of 41, assuming also the leadership of the Costa Rican Catholics in the social field.

He had the centuries-old conviction, too little stressed in our time, that Christianity embodies more social-economic strength in itself than any and every hue of Communism or any other system. He also realized that the great majority of his flock was of the laboring class, suffering much from bad economic conditions, and was convinced that men's bodies must be fed before they can stand and listen to the Gospel. According to him, Christianity had always preached a spirit of poverty but never one of economic subjection.

Consequently, he resolved to put his ideas to work, and in June, 1943, his first public statement regarding his social policy appeared. It was as follows:

The ecclesiastical authority is and will be pledged to the formation of Catholic workers' associations, and the furtherance of those already existing, not to weaken the cohesiveness of the workers' movement, but to direct it in the way that will serve its interest best, namely within the admirable course charted by papal teachings.

This and other similar statements were to be put into practice. For this purpose he turned to Father Benjamin Nunez, an outstanding priest of his archdiocese whom he had sent to the Catholic university in Washington, D.C., for graduate work in social sciences. Immediately upon his return to the country, Father Nunez was apprised of the Archbishop's plans in detail. The Archbishop reminded him that too much of their opposition to Communism had been negative. They had been giving the people principles

when bread was needed and preaching sermons on the life to come to people whose employers were making it come all too soon. When workers' groups were formed, they were always "anti" something. They must join the ranks of the "pros." The Communist Laborers' and Farmhands' bloc (that is to say, the former Communist party) might profit by a little competition.

Conservatives Oppose

In response to these activities sponsored by the Archbishop, there was spontaneous approval and manifestations of gratitude from the working classes. At the same time, however, a strong reaction against him sprang up among the wealthy plantation owners whose interests were threatened. They accused him of radicalism, of entering into politics and even of Communism. The leaders of the conservative thought, with a few notable exceptions, took no pains to conceal their displeasure at the Archbishop of San Jose.

Making a refutation to the charges, and with a clever thrust at the "vested interests" hidden under it, Archbishop Sanabria directed his attack against the basic misunderstanding current in Costa Rica, whereby "Communist" or other similar names serve as convenient epithets, not for those who oppose religion or the Church, but for those who say or do anything opposed to the selfish ends of the name-callers.

After all these arguments had taken place and after some months of noiseless preparation, the work of organization began on April 2, 1943, the feast of Our Lady of Angels, a national patroness of Costa Rica. No more propitious day could have been chosen for the launching of the new program, for Our Lady under her title of Queen of Angels is greatly revered in Costa Rica. On this day, thousands of people gathered at her basilica to pay homage

to their patroness. At this time, in his sermon at the shrine in Cartago, Father Nunez announced that shortly a non-political workers' organization was to be formed inspired by Catholic social doctrines for the reconstruction of a better country and a better world.

Costa Rican Labor Unions' Central "Rerum Novarum"

The fifteenth of September of the same year saw the establishment of *La Central de Sindicatos Costar-ricenses "Rerum Novarum"* (Costa Rican Labor Unions' Central "Rerum Novarum"). It was established to co-ordinate the 15 local unions that had already been formed at Father Nunez's behest.

The new central body so aided the advance of local organizations that, at the end of the year, 32 groups were represented in a Congress of Directors. Throughout 1944, Father Nunez served in his capacity of chief leader in an extraordinary way. No corner of the country was too far for him, no group of workers too unresponsive for some attempt to be made at indoctrination.

The work bore fruit. A second Congress of Directors, held just before Christmas in 1944, resulted in the refinement of both policy and practice. Workers' federations had been formed in each of the seven provinces of the country, the larger provinces having distinct unions for agricultural and industrial workers. Railroad men and public health workers were the two groups which were organized separately on a national scale.

Final Organization

The organization was received in its final form on April 29, 1945, when a general convention was held. The 10 federations then in existence, and other local unions comprising them, were integrated into an overall Congress to be known as the Costa Rican Confederation of Labor "Rerum Novarum."

A constitution was drawn up and officers elected. The delegates unanimously acclaimed Father Nunez president. This measure, however, is a temporary one.

In accordance with the provisions of the labor law of the country, the Confederation disavowed all political purposes. Its work was to be educational and to bring about pressure which, through the action of political parties, would result in legislative changes for the social well-being of the country. On May 1, 1945, the Confederation was formally inaugurated with a mass meeting at Mendoza stadium in San Jose.

Results

The wonderful work carried on by the leaders of the Confederation in educating the workers and stabilizing their organization was soon rewarded.

It was not long before hundreds and thousands of workers came to learn that labor has its duties as well as its rights, that a digger of ditches can justly expect a wage that will somehow meet the needs of his family, and that a capitalist is charged with a proper distribution of the wealth created by the contribution of labor. Workers also learned that the two Pontiffs known to the world as Leo XIII and Pius XI were of giant stature in the field of economics and labor.

The educational campaign has been kept in progress through the establishment of local libraries at the various union centers. Labor courses have been offered to workers from time to time with owners of industry, workers, lawyers and priests taking up the speakers' stand.

Generally Welcomed

All this has contributed to bring into the rank and file of the Confederation an ever increasing number of workers and awake among them a class consciousness in the right direction.

On the other hand, capitalists have gradually come to realize that the new

organization by no means threatens to destroy their legitimate aspirations. Many of them have welcomed this new labor movement as a long-expected force that will liberate employers, as well as employes, from the menace of violence and Communist-dominated labor unions.

As time goes on, the hope is turning out to be a cheerful reality. Generally speaking, employers no longer are suspicious about the aims and intentions of the Confederation "Rerum Novarum." On different occasions the Confederation has clearly demonstrated that lawful and peaceful means are the best tools to solve the complex problems of labor disputes—that strong measures, such as strikes, should be used only in extreme cases.

As a result of this policy of the Confederation, unions enjoy an excellent reputation in the country. Workers of unions affiliated with it are well accepted by employers. Strikes and stoppages are almost non-existent, and the few that have taken place have been carried out strictly in accordance with the law and, therefore, successfully for the workers.

International Recognition

Early this year, the Costa Rican

Confederation of Labor "*Rerum Novarum*" acted as delegate at a conference of the recently formed international labor confederation, Inter-American Confederation of Workers (*Confederacion Inter-Americana de Trabajadores*—CIT). This Confederation, organized in Lima, Peru, in January, 1948, is a challenge to the Latin-American Confederation of Labor (*Confederacion de Trabajadores de la America Latina*—CTAL), founded in 1938. Luis A. Monge Alvarez, vice-president of the Costa Rican Confederation of Labor "*Rerum Novarum*," was elected at Lima as a vice-president to CIT.

Conclusion

There is no doubt in the minds of well-informed people in Costa Rica that the Confederation "*Rerum Novarum*" is progressing rapidly and that in the near future it will greatly reduce the power of Communist-dominated labor unions.

It is also clear that a major change in labor-management relations has taken place and that soon, if God continues to bestow upon our efforts the abundance of His blessings, a peaceful solution to our labor problems will be complete.

People and Policy

I believe there is no question as to the agricultural policy favored by the American people. We want to follow a policy of abundance—organized, sustained, and realistic abundance. Today we have it within our power to follow such a policy. Our whole economy is strong. Our agriculture is strong. We do not have to fight an uphill battle to overcome the havoc of depression. We have only to consolidate our gains and go forward. But if we shilly-shally—if we hesitate—if we wait—we may lose the golden opportunity. We may find ourselves struggling to regain the opportunity we have today. In such an event, the blame would be placed on those who failed to act—those who had made policy by default, but that would be small consolation to anyone.

Charles F. Brannan
Secretary of Agriculture

THE MONSIGNOR'S MESSAGE

Dr. Coady, of Antigonish, Talks to America

by Aloysius H. Scheller, S.J.

Saint Louis University

MONSIGNOR COADY is a learned man with the soul of a poet and a great heart for action. In the short span of 20 years he has made the world take note of the cooperative movement which flourishes in the Maritime provinces of Canada — Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward island. Of Nova Scotia where Antigonish, the home of St. Francis Xavier university, is located, Monsignor says, "It is a beautiful mosaic in the vestibule of America, a precious diadem which the Creator placed on the brow of America, the land of the forest primeval immortalized by Longfellow's *Evangeline*." Here was God's gift to man in beautiful fertile country with great resources, and yet the people who lived in the Maritime provinces were poor, and some were destitute.

The story of Judique on Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, is typical. Here were 175 families of Scotch Highland descent who were not paupers but were certainly not well off. They carried on in the old-fashioned way just as their great-grandfathers had carried on before them, fishing and farming and allowing themselves to be exploited by private firms which bought their products, especially lobsters, at whatever price the buyers chose to pay, usually two cents for smaller lobsters and four cents for big ones. Anyone who has paid his two dollars or more for a lobster in a restaurant has to admit there was something wrong along the way.

People Solve Problems

No sooner had Monsignor Coady come into the picture with his program of adult education and cooperation than a new life sprang up among the hardy people of the Maritime provinces. Monsignor is impatient with individuals or groups who have problems that they will not face and try to solve for themselves. "Study and seek and you will find the solution to all of your problems. In addition, you will find life more abundant." When you ask Monsignor Coady the meaning of this cryptic statement, his reply is, "Do not ask silly questions. No one can tell you exactly what must be done in given circumstances, but with study and cooperation the answer to all of the social and economic problems is possible."

Monsignor Coady is convinced that the only hope for the preservation of a democratic way of life is one supported by the cooperative movement. He agrees with the definition commonly attributed to Lincoln that democracy is rule "of the people, by the people and for the people," but that it needs explanation and fulfillment by action in a cooperative way for a physical, economical, political, social, cultural and spiritual well-being.

"Whoever controls or manipulates the social forces," says Monsignor Coady, "rules society, and, as a consequence, dominates the lives of the people. If the people themselves control them, then they are the masters of their own destiny." Manipulating these

forces means participating in those vital social processes and this, in turn, gives us complete democracy.

Need for Education

The masses of the people themselves at no time in past history have been sufficiently educated to make possible the group effort for which democracy calls. This can be seen by reflection on the origin of our communities here in America. Every city was at one time no more than a crossroads where a few settlers lived. They began to organize society by setting aside one corner for a church to be built by cooperative effort, another corner for a school and a third for the town hall or legislative buildings. The fourth corner, where the economic institution should have been built, was neglected by the people. Smart aggressive men rushed in and set up, for private gain, the economic institutions that were to shape so largely the lives of the growing community. The fourth corner was the only one where there was not full participation, sharing and cooperation by all members of the newly established community.

Today we have the consequences of this independent, non-cooperative system clearly shown by the fact that large masses of the people are enslaved by a small number of owners, trusts, industrialists, big business. The people back in the original communities have no connection with the production of the world's goods; they just buy them as best they can, when they can and at whatever price the business man chooses to sell them. It took some time before buyers recognized the value of consumers' cooperatives so that by pooling their resources they might save the money which the middle man claimed as his own for merely handling staple and necessary goods.

Distribution Neglected

It is unfortunate that the people of Canada, and North America generally, are solely producer-minded. The question of distribution or of sharing the goods which they themselves make is not high enough in their minds and, as a consequence, they pay dearly for the lack of cooperation among themselves.

When the domestic system changed over to the factory system, people had to find money to pay for the goods that they once made for themselves, or had made for them, by local people who were paid for their work, in many instances, by a barter system. Industries have been swept away from the home and the local plants and have been congregated in far away industrial centers.

What has remained in the local community are the consumer institutions, stores, wholesale houses, banks, insurance companies, and a great variety of services. But these institutions were never owned by the people of the community. If they had been, then the step to the ownership of the production factories in the distant cities would be easier. It is plain that the logical way for the people to get ownership of the factories is to own first the consumer institutions, principally the stores, and this is called the consumer approach.

Democratize Whole Economy

In the Maritime provinces, Monsignor Coady has enabled the thrifty inhabitants to go far beyond this so that not only consumer cooperatives, but producer cooperatives as well, have been organized and related to the buying as well as the selling of goods. One may get the impression that Monsignor Coady's success has been only with the fishermen of the Maritime provinces. This is quite untrue. His belief is that the total economy of a

state or of a nation can be planned and operated on a cooperative basis. As a matter of fact, not until all aspects of economic, social, cultural, educational, as well as spiritual, life have been organized in a cooperative fashion can one expect the full flower of this movement.

The Maritime provinces are well on the way to realizing Monsignor Coady's ambition. The Canadian Government has recognized the value of Monsignor's ideas, and each year he receives a considerable grant to carry out the work of the Extension School of St. Francis Xavier university as well as to assist small communities in the Maritime provinces in the establishing of consumer as well as producer co-operatives.

Another false concept Monsignor is anxious to remove is the belief that cooperatives are quite satisfactory in a rural economy, but that they have little place in the large cities. "This is the consequence of too much complacency and satisfaction with the status quo of our economic system," says Monsignor Coady, "an unwillingness to recognize the tremendous problems that follow in the wake of our economic organization where we have the extremes of wealth and poverty in one and the same community. The larger group is in the poorer class, and the wealth is limited to a very small number, who may not be half as smart, but who have taken advantage of the competitive economy in which we live."

Holy See Approves

With a considerable amount of satisfaction, Monsignor Coady refers to the fact that within recent years seven "co-operative" Bishops have been appointed in Canada as an indication of the high approval the Holy See is giving to his work. Furthermore, there are letters from Vatican City praising the work of the cooperative movement.

To His Excellency, the Most Reverend James Morrison, Bishop of Antigonish, the Secretary of State of His Holiness, Pius XII, wrote as follows on April 26, 1947: "Particularly worthy of commendation is the fact that through Your Excellency's inspired and enlightened direction of the St. Francis Xavier university, the Antigonish Movement has produced notable results in the very praiseworthy task of educating the people to the proper perspective and economy on social problems in accordance with the Encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, while the various enterprises sponsored by the movement have achieved remarkable success in promoting the material prosperity of the people concerned."

Monsignor Coady conducted the Institute on Cooperatives and the Co-operative Movement at the Saint Louis university from June 7 to June 18, 1948. He came with all of his enthusiasm and devoted every minute of his time in sharing it with those who attended the Institute. He was much impressed with Catholic life and Catholic action in our country, but he believed that our wealth and our complacency with present conditions are such that the cooperative movement would be slow to take hold except in very small and backward places. Now would be the time, he believes, to organize and to plan cooperatively so that good things which our people enjoy might continue to remain with us. We are already beginning to feel the need of assisting large masses of the people by methods of public welfare rather than face the problems directly and to enable people to help themselves. But the economy is such that many will always be left out, unable to keep up with the fierce struggle, unless those who are our leaders are convinced of the need of more cooperative planning, both for consumers and producers.

THE CATHOLIC AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL AT ANGERS

Model French School Trains Farm Elite

by H. de Montbron, S.J.*

Angers, France

REMARKABLE agricultural progress was made throughout the west of France during the middle of the 19th century. Wealthy landowners devoted time, as well as considerable fortunes, to improvement of the land and general farm conditions, as well as to stabilization of the peasant population on both privately-owned and rented farms and on the dairy lands of pastoral areas.

In 1884, when freedom had been granted to the unions in France by protective legislation, these same men called upon the leaders of the agricultural union movement to assist them, since they realized that the unions were the normal agents for developing rural, social and vocational life.

Since it was at this time that the first great movement toward the cities got under way, the cooperation of everyone was needed. Despite all the improvements in agriculture, farmers' sons, who were the natural inheritors of the land, deserted the country in great numbers. Partly because many parcels of land were too small to support a family at a decent standard and partly because factory and clerical jobs in the cities offered attractive cash incomes, French agricultural life was seriously threatened.

When the native land proprietors

and renters quickly disappeared, it was imperative that the leading members of the unions establish a system of training youth through which they could develop a new agricultural elite. The new farmers would have to be chosen as much from the new urban strata of the population as from the remaining farm families.

Catholic School Founded

At Angers, in the newly-founded Catholic university, Father Vétillart recognized the needs of the time. He had long been interested in developing the large rural districts which were known as the Count of Bouilleries or the Prince of Plaisance. In 1889, he opened the Advanced Agricultural school which, ever since, has been a training ground for developing socially-minded young men who are highly skilled in their agricultural vocation.

In this article we shall consider the life of a student at the E.S.A. (*L'Ecole Supérieure d'Agriculture*).

The young man of 18 who enters the school at Angers in October of each year to pursue his course of studies should ambition more than simply the knowledge of how to raise and shear a flock of Norman sheep or to grow beets. The skilled workman is developed as the student progresses through the school, but the educators at Angers strive to turn out much more

* Translated by Bernard A. Suppe, S.J.

than one merely skilled in the art of manual work.

From the outset of his career as a student, the pupil is assigned to a small group of his classmates with whom he will constantly associate. The members of each group are called *camarades d'ecurie*, literally, "stable companions." They live in the same house or in two or three neighboring houses and participate as a community in all daily activities. At the same time, the student forms part of the larger group composed of all those in his own year of studies. This entire body, under the direction of an elected leader, will preserve for life the tone and character of its period and spirit.

Good Spirit Fostered

Shortly after the re-opening of school, the administrative body and the faculty give an afternoon's entertainment for the students. The distinction and good breeding of the concert, movie and luncheon indicate at the very outset the spirit of gentility and self-respect which will be maintained throughout the year and which is expected in the training of future leaders of men.

The social life of the student centers alternatively around the club room and the park. In the former he has at his disposal the ordinary recreational facilities: billiards, ping-pong, cards, conversation. The park, which adjoins the class-rooms on the outskirts of the city of Angers, gives opportunity for walking, conversation and outdoor games. A larger meeting place in the center of the city affords further opportunities for recreation where the student can meet others pursuing courses in literature, science, law or medicine.

Lectures treating of many subjects are delivered in the course of the year and the curriculum is organized to give the greatest possible scope to individual needs and capacities.

Two afternoons a week are free for whatever form of recreation the student may desire. On the remaining afternoons, all the students visit the college farm where they study the various techniques of vineyard and orchard cultivation, dairy and farm improvements. The farm is kept in excellent condition so that it can be a model, and new improvements are introduced as soon as they are announced.

The student has frequent contact with practical farmers of the vicinity with whom he can test the knowledge he is acquiring and from whom he discovers problems which later he will present to his teachers.

Intellectual Life

Every effort is made at Angers to avoid pedantry and a mere academic knowledge of farming. To this end the student spends a great deal of time in practical farm activities, both during the school year and vacations. On the other hand, the school undertakes to give a rounded education which avoids any narrow specialization harmful to a complete human and humane development.

But above all, the attention of the faculty is concentrated upon eliminating any spirit of superficial intellectual dabbling. Presentation of courses is solid and substantial. The lectures and ordinary courses are arranged so that the graduate will be efficient in all branches of learning pertaining to the study of agriculture and to the up-to-date science of cattle-breeding. Three hours of class in the morning and one hour in the evening before dinner are not considered too much to provide the student with his professional knowledge as well as with a few notions of right and justice and of the economic sciences so indispensable for one aspiring to become a leader in the agricultural life of the nation.

Regular Reports Required

In addition to classes and field work, each student is required to prepare reports upon his return from farm work. To this end he is encouraged to discuss with fellow students what has been learned, to pool discoveries and to seek further improvements. Each student retains his reports so that he has, at the conclusion of his course of studies, a practical guide and handbook of farming.

The students have at their disposal also a specialized library of more than 10,000 volumes covering all aspects of agriculture. In connection with each course, the student is required to prepare a term paper. For this he calls upon the resources of the library and laboratories, as well as upon his own notes and reports. Weekly examinations give a periodic check of each student's progress so that deficiencies can be supplied and lagging students cautioned.

Advanced Work

In the third year of the course, fewer subjects are carried and examinations given less frequently. But there are more seminars in which each student carries out a research project, and all are encouraged to devote more private study to aspects of agricultural science which will be of special value to them. Here is an example of the procedure in seminars. Two weeks in advance, a student is assigned some specific problem in horticulture, the raising of a vegetable, the breeding of animals, a problem in social life, natural or human environment, or a problem in administration, expenditures, rent, or income. At the school he studies the problem thoroughly with data available in his notes and reports or with material secured from the library. He then goes to the farm and checks on his theoretical data by experimentation and con-

sultation with the practical directors there.

At every opportunity, he discusses the problem with fellow students, with farmers he meets, or with teachers. At the end of his investigation, he gives a report to the entire group and leads their discussion of his report. In this way, all available sources of knowledge are tapped for the best possible information. Experienced teachers at the school have often acknowledged that they learn much from the reports of their students.

Religious Life

The religious life is the silent realm of grace. It is possible, nevertheless, to uncover some signs of its activity and to report what is done at Angers to foster it. The school is Catholic, as is the University with which it is affiliated, so that every effort is made to foster the religious life of the student. In the E.S.A. a special attempt is made to integrate religion with the agricultural life which the student will later live.

Many of the students are members of special groups under the direction of a chaplain (the St. Vincent de Paul society, the Rural Society of Catholic Students, the scout troop and the Sodality). Through these organizations, students exercise various forms of the apostolate and grow in personal holiness. Besides the regular groups, others form spontaneously. A large number of the students sacrifice their Sundays to cooperate with the rural social movements in neighboring localities and spend some of their evenings training the younger people of rural communities.

Others meet for prayers in common or to study the sacred scriptures. Study groups of pupils, with either the lay professors or alumni, discuss the spiritual problems of marriage or rural life. In addition to these spontaneous activities, the students meet for weekly

Mass, an annual pilgrimage to Notre Dame de Béhuard and an annual three-day retreat.

Apostolic Spirit

The most effective work achieved by the spirituality of Angers is found in the North African Agricultural Instruction centers. Recognizing the special problems encountered by French Catholics who live in the midst of North African Mohammedans, the school desired to help them achieve as full a Christian life as possible. To this end the school set up centers for legal advice which also gave a course of studies calculated to adapt the future colonist to the Arab and Berber environment of North Africa.

The colonists also serve as apostles who help bring to the Mohammedans knowledge of Christianity. Ever since the establishment of the CIANA (*Centres d'Instruction Agricole Nord-Africains*), the school has witnessed a rejuvenation of religious spirit among its pupils.

Alumni Activities

After graduation, the former student of Angers keeps in frequent contact with the school. An alumni association manages to unite its members and keep them mutually informed, and the school cooperates eagerly in all alumni activities. An alumni news bulletin, *Agro d'Angers*, published monthly by the school, gives news of school developments and of the CIANA, as well as reports about regional groups of alumni. It also contains articles about

most recent developments in agriculture and bibliographical notices, together with the traditional news of births, engagements, marriages, and professional activities of alumni. True to its Catholic spirit, it gives constant attention to the social, moral and religious aspects of rural life.

The school makes available to alumni a circulating library so that even the most isolated farm can be supplied with suitable reading material.

In the course of the year, one or two closed retreats, two-day study sessions and a remarkable number of regional meetings make it possible to settle the spiritual, social and technical problems which the leaders have encountered and to bring them up to date on current progress in agriculture.

Individual alumni have shown themselves most loyal and generous in undertaking special assignments. They are at the service of the school or of fellow alumni who need their help.

With the passing of the years, a constantly increasing body of splendid men are at work in the country districts. Well trained and apostolic, they are not only good farmers themselves, but are an excellent leaven in the rural communities. By their example and leadership they are helping bring about an improvement, both moral and professional, in the country folk of France. As it recognizes the fruits of their work the E.S.A. is both proud and grateful.

New Pastoral Theology

We are happy to voice Our paternal approval of the zealous pastoral activity manifested by so many bishops and priests who have, with due prudence and caution, been planning and applying new methods of apostolate more adapted to modern needs.

Pius XI, *Atheistic Communism*, 62.

HUMAN RIGHTS

WHEN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the United Nations convened at Paris on September 21, 1948, it had on its agenda, among other things, a Draft International Declaration of Human Rights, the rough draft of an International Covenant on Human Rights, and rudimentary provisions for implementation of the rights.

These documents had been prepared in the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, and the Declaration was accepted by the Commission at its session on June 18. The Declaration and the other two documents, the latter without any comment from the Commission, were then presented to the Economic and Social Council.

The Council held two plenary sessions on August 6 and 19, preparatory to the September meeting of the General Assembly, but was unable to consider the question of human rights. As a result, the whole question comes to the General Assembly in an incomplete state.

Fruit of Long Study

The statements on human rights are the result of more than two years work carried on since the Commission was constituted by the Economic and Social Council on June 21, 1946. On December 17, 1947, the Commission published its preliminary drafts, which were submitted to member governments of U.N. for comment.

Text of the Declaration was revised at the June sessions and given definitive form. It remains substantially the same as the original draft, except that a lengthy preamble has been added.

Both the preamble and the first article of the Declaration acknowledge at least implicitly, that human rights antedate any grant of rights by state or society. The preamble recognizes "the *inherent* dignity" and "the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family." These human rights "should be *protected* by a regime of law" (*Italics inserted*).

While these statements are ambiguous and could be subjected to an unfavorable interpretation, the first article is more emphatic. It states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed by nature with reason and conscience, and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

Even this assertion is not a clear statement that human rights are derived independently of state and society. It is a far cry from the prediction of Archibald MacLeish, at that time Assistant Secretary of State, who said on May 19, 1945, that the recognition of universal human rights contained in the Charter of San Francisco will make that Charter rank in the great series of documents which record the struggle for human liberty.

He continued:

Now for the first time at the Conference in San Francisco an effort has been made to establish the basic proposition applicable in all lands and for all peoples that human beings possess, by virtue of the fact that they are human beings, certain rights—as Jefferson would have put it—certain inalienable rights.

Draft Improved

Aside from introduction of a preamble, the most important difference between the two drafts is the removal from the definitive text of all allusion to the duty of states. The original form had imposed upon the state the duty "to take such measures as may be within its power to insure that all persons ordinarily resident in its territory have an opportunity for useful work" (Art. 23, 2). The state was "bound to take all necessary steps to prevent unemployment" (Art. 23, 3); the responsibility of the state and community for health and safety of its people was implied in Art. 25. The state "has a duty to maintain or ensure the maintenance of comprehensive measures for the security of the individual against the consequences of unemployment, disability, old age, and all other losses of livelihood for reasons beyond his control" (Art. 26, 1).

Partly because of inherent difficulties in such obligations and partly because the Declaration should contain only rights and is a "common standard of achievement," these impositions of obligation were removed. It may well be, too, that a motive behind these excisions was the desire to conciliate the Soviet bloc, which sought the inclusion of a lengthy list of duties of citizens to the state.

The Declaration was adopted unanimously by the vote of 12 members of the Commission. Four state representatives, however, abstained from voting. These were the delegates from the U.S.S.R., the Byelorussian S.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R. and Yugoslavia.

Members Disagreed

Three basic differences were manifest in the discussions, stated Mr. Charles Malik, minister of Lebanon in the United States, who is president of the Economic and Social Council and *rapporteur* of the Commission on Human Rights.

The first of these issues was the question of rights of states. Most of the delegates wanted to include only individual human rights. "The U.S.S.R., Byelorussian, Ukrainian and Yugoslav representatives, on the other hand, emphasized the duty of man to the state and to the community, and urged that the Declaration contain more explicit safeguards of the sovereign rights of the 'democratic state'."

The second issue concerned the degree of emphasis to be given the individual-personal rights as against the economic-social. The Soviet group asserted that the problem was essentially that of economic and social rights. American and British delegates emphasized the traditional individual liberties. The French representative chose an intermediate position, recognizing the importance of personal rights, but insisting that social security must be emphasized precisely because this right is not traditional and well-established.

The third issue was the most important and fundamental. It has to do with the origin and nature of human rights. Mr. Malik, throughout the deliberations of the Commission, showed himself an outstanding protagonist of the traditional Christian belief in the dignity of man and the origin of his rights from God. Of this question he said (all quotations from Mr. Malik are from his article in the *United Nations Bulletin*, 5 (July 1, 1948) 519-522):

"The third basic issue was not always present to the mind of the Commission. It was nevertheless there, at the base of every debate and every decision. It is the question of the nature and origin of these rights. *By what title* does man possess them? Are they *conferred* upon him by the State, or by Society, or by the United Nations? Or do they belong to his nature so that apart from them he simply ceases to be man? Now if they simply originate in the State or Society or the

United Nations, it is clear that what the State now *grants*, it might one day *withdraw* without thereby violating any higher law. But if these rights and freedoms belong to man as man, then the State or the United Nations, far from conferring them upon him, must *recognize* and respect them, or else it would be violating the higher law of his being. This is the question of whether the State is subject to higher law, the law of nature, or whether it is a sufficient law unto itself. If it is the latter, then nothing judges it: it is the judge of everything. But if there is something above it which it can discover and to which it can conform, then any positive law which contradicts that transcendent norm is *by nature* null and void. Finally, if my fundamental rights and freedoms belong to me by nature, then they are not a chance assemblage of items: they must constitute an ordered whole. Responsible inquiry must then exhibit their inner articulation. For it may be that some are more ultimate than others. It may be that a spiritually free but economically insecure person is better than the richest millionaire who knows nothing of spiritual freedom.

The deepest formulation of the present crisis in human rights is not that these rights have been brutally violated in the recent war; nor is it that there is not enough clamor demanding their proper establishment and protection; nor certainly is it that the United Nations has done nothing about them. There is more talk today about human rights than ever before, and the United Nations has a full-fledged Commission wholly dedicated to that cause.

The real crisis in human rights does not lie along any of these lines. It consists rather in the fact that people today do not believe they have natural, inherent, inalienable rights. You should see and hear modern man argue about his rights! Can you suggest to him

that he is originally and by nature possessed of his fundamental rights? The merest suggestion that there is nature, reality, truth, peace and rest, an unchanging order of things which it is our supreme destiny to know and conform to, is anathema to modern man. He seeks his rights not in and from that order, but from his government, from the United Nations, from what he calls "the existing world situation" and "the last stage in evolution." Destitute and desolate, he goes about begging for his rights at the feet of the world, and when the Commission votes an article by 10 to 8, he rejoices that there, there he is granted a right! Having lost his hold on God, or more accurately, having blinded himself to God's constant hold on him, he seeks for his rights elsewhere in vain. The spectacle of a being having lost his proper being—can there be anything more tragic?"

The text of the Declaration can be compared with that prepared by a committee appointed by the National Catholic Welfare conference. The latter was printed in *SOCIAL ORDER*, 1 (1947) 38-39. The U.N. Commission text follows:

Draft International Declaration of Human Rights

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world, and

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights resulted, before and during the Second World War, in barbarous acts which outraged the conscience of mankind and made it apparent that the fundamental freedoms were one of the supreme issues of the conflict, and

Whereas it is essential, if mankind is not to be compelled as a last resort

to rebel against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by a regime of law, and

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom; and

Whereas Member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the organization, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms; and

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now therefore the General Assembly

Proclaims this Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed by nature with reason and conscience, and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, prop-

erty or other status, or national or social origin.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.

Article 4

1. No one shall be held in slavery or involuntary servitude.

2. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 5

Everyone has the right to recognition, everywhere, as a person before the law.

Article 6

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 7

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

Article 8

In the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal.

Article 9

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute an offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed.

Article 10

No one shall be subjected to unreasonable interference with his pri-

vacy, family, home, correspondence, or reputation.

Article 11

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own.

Article 12

1. Everyone has the right to seek and be granted, in other countries, asylum from persecution.

2. Prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations do not constitute persecution.

Article 13

No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality or denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 14

1. Men and women of full age have the right to marry and to found a family and are entitled to equal rights as to marriage.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the full consent of both intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 16

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance.

Article 17

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of assembly and association.

Article 19

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through his freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of access to public employment in his country.

3. Everyone has the right to a government which conforms to the will of the people.

Article 20

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to the realization, through national effort and international co-operation, and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of the economic, social, and cultural rights set out below.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to work, to just and favorable conditions of work and pay and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone is free to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 22

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care, and to social services, adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family and to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability,

old age, or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Mother and child have the right to special care and assistance.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to education. Elementary and fundamental education shall be free and compulsory and there shall be equal access on the basis of merit to higher education.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality, to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to combating the spirit of intolerance and hatred against other nations and against racial and religious groups everywhere.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure.

Article 25

Everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to share in scientific advancement.

Article 26

Everyone is entitled to a good social and international order in which the

rights and freedoms set out in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 27

1. Everyone has duties to the community which enables him freely to develop his personality.

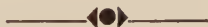
2. In the exercise of his rights, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are necessary to secure due recognition and respect for the rights of others and the requirements of morality, public order and general welfare in a democratic society.

Article 28

Nothing in this Declaration shall imply the recognition of the right of any state or person to engage in any activity aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms prescribed herein.

Note: The Commission has not considered the following article since measures of implementation were not considered in its third session:

Everyone has the right, either individually or in association with others, to petition or to communicate with the public authorities of the state of which he is a national or in which he resides, or with the United Nations.



Minority Views on Taft-Hartley Act

We are convinced that, contrary to the contention of its sponsors, the act is intensifying in favor of management the preexisting imbalance at the bargaining table. We are convinced that the path to harmony between management and labor and to high production is free collective bargaining. A free collective bargaining system requires that labor be able to deal with management on equal terms. It requires that labor be able to obtain a fair share of industries' profits in order to maintain a decent and adequate standard of living for the American family.

Report of Joint Committee on Labor-
Management Relations, April 1, 1948

{ TRENDS }

Labor Extension Service

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has drafted and favorably reported a bill to establish a labor extension service similar to the agricultural extension service established in the 19th century.

As early as 1862, the need for such education was seen. In the Morrill act, by which agricultural education was set up by erection of the land-grant colleges, provision was made for education in the "mechanic arts," as well. But since the nation at that time was overwhelmingly agricultural in its economy, the industrial provisions of the Act were never implemented.

Today, however, when our economy is heavily non-agricultural, the Committee recognizes the need for education to assist these workers. Trade unions, representatives of management, and educational authorities who testified before the educational subcommittee, headed by Senator Aiken, were generally uniform in recognizing this need.

The bill is intended to give Federal aid to institutions providing education facilities for workers and to extend the worker-education movement. Financial assistance will be given by the Federal government on a 75/25 basis to each state, proportioned to the share of the entire labor force resident in each state.

Unfortunately, the bills drafted at the present time have adopted the discriminatory policy inaugurated by most bills giving federal aid to education. The formula used in the labor extension service bills adopts the formula used in the Taft bill on general education, namely, cooperating institutions are "any State land-grant college or university and other institutions of higher education eligible to receive funds under the acts of Congress providing for agricultural extension work and other public or private non-profit colleges, universities, or research agencies, approved by the State board, which are eligible

under State law to receive and expend public funds for educational purposes." This means that federal assistance can only be given to private and religious schools in those states in which there is no prohibition against use of state funds for the same purpose. At the present time not more than three or four states permit such use of state funds. The result is that in practically all cases Catholic schools, which do the bulk of labor education at the present time, would be excluded from benefits under the labor extension service bill in its present form.

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Cardinal Suhard, who originally approved the work of Abbé Godin, (SOCIAL ORDER, 1,1-5), recently ordained 17 priests in the cathedral at Lisieux, France. These newly-ordained priests had studied at the Mission de France, established by Abbé Godin at Lisieux, just a short distance from the Carmel. When their training is complete, the new priests will join the group of *pretres ouvriers* working in mines and factories for the reChristianization of the French masses.

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Hours of Farm Work in France

By a law passed in March, 1948, the French government has set the maximum number of work hours for farm workers throughout the country. The move was undertaken to ease conditions which led to the heavy migration from farm areas following liberation. Since that time more than 200,000 have moved to industrial areas.

The law sets 2,400 hours as the maximum for the year of 300 work days. Allowances for regional and seasonal differences are permitted. Employers may require longer hours when seasonal necessity or shortage of man power requires them. But overtime pay must be given at 125 per cent of the regular wage.

Because private agreements have already been reached in some areas which set shorter periods of work than the maximum permitted by the law, these agreements are permitted to remain in effect. In order to provide against hardships the law gives considerable discretion to departmental authorities in the administration of the law. In the United States, where agricultural workers are exempted from provisions of the Fair Labor Standards act, hours of work must be generally settled by private agreement. The growth of labor unions for agricultural workers will greatly assist in setting normal and equitable standards.

To Watch Bias in Army

Segregation was not eliminated from the armed services by the Selective Service Act of 1948. Nevertheless, the Act made it clear that discrimination would not be tolerated.

To examine methods of eliminating bias from the services and to propose procedural methods of handling it, President Truman appointed, on September 18, a seven-man committee which is to confer with the four secretaries involved. The committee is to submit a report incorporating recommendations to the President.

The committee, called "The Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services," is headed by Charles H. Fahy, former solicitor general. Charles Luckman, who was a member of the president's Committee on Civil Rights, is also a member.

Soviet War Areas Collectivized

As seizure of farm land progresses in countries behind the iron curtain, the USSR announces that the areas politically seized during the war are almost completely under state control. In the Western Ukraine areas seized from Poland, more than 65 per cent of all families have been organized into collectives. The remaining farmers have been compelled to make large grain deliveries to government agents. In the Baltic states, collectivization advanced more than 200 per cent during 1948.

Report on Family Costs

What it costs to live in an American city has been shown more clearly than ever before in a recent report of the Department of Labor, "City Worker's Family Budget." In preparing this report the actual, common-sense needs of a family of four were pre-determined; then the cost of these items was investigated for 34 cities. At prices asked in the summer of 1947, the cost of all items on the very modest budget ranged from \$3,004 in New Orleans to \$3,458 in Washington, D. C.

How modest this budget is can be indicated by a few typical examples: meat cannot be served every day; the wife does all the cooking, cleaning, laundry (no employed household help, even part-time); the family budget allows for no telephone, only \$1.95 for postage, an absolute minimum for gifts, charitable and religious contributions. Insurance is included, but there is no provision for other savings. The children are presumed to be in a free, public school. While the budget, consequently, is extremely restricted, it is more ample than a minimum, subsistence budget and is fairly representative of the lower-middle-class family expenditures.

Several reflections might be made upon this report. First, it is evident that many four-person families in the United States would be able to buy less than the goods and services deemed necessary in this budget, because their income would be less than that required. Secondly, families with a larger number of children would be compelled to make still further retrenchments; it is estimated that a third child would add 14 per cent to the cost of this budget. Thirdly, the income-level of families which Jesuits as a group ordinarily meet would probably be much higher than the level designated by this budget. Fourthly, wage-earners will have some difficulty in meeting the costs of this budget (and reports indicate unprecedented reductions in savings during both 1946 and 1947), but the greatest burden will fall on families without a father (since wage differentials make women's wages lower in many cases), those living on pensions, Social Security incomes or other forms of fixed incomes, members of minority groups whose wages are always lower.

BOOKS

AUSTRIA FROM HAPSBURG TO HITLER.—By Charles A. Gulick. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948. 2 Volumes, xxv, 1906 pp. \$20.00.

Dr. Gulick, professor of economics at the University of California, became interested in labor and social problems in Austria in 1930. Eighteen years of study and 14 months of personal observation of the Austrian scene culminated in the publication of these two large volumes on the history of Austria between the two World Wars. Dr. Gulick shows himself acquainted with all official documents of recent Austrian history, and he has also made copious use of the writings of the important figures on the scene of recent Austrian politics.

The result is a two-volume work buttressed by all the paraphernalia of scholarship and devoted largely to the social and economic history of the period. The historian is, therefore, forced to take cognizance of this work which scholars cannot ignore. But he is also forced to lament the fact that so much scholarship and so much effort have been used in producing a work which is frankly an apologia for the Socialist party in Austria. The author makes no pretence to objectivity. He tells the reader that he has "no patience with the intellectual contortionist who apparently thinks he is 'unscientific' unless he tries to get a part of each foot on each side of every question that is faintly controversial." Dr. Gulick is clearly writing a defense of the Socialist party and an indictment of its opponents. The work is, therefore, no more objective than a presidential candidate's biography in an election year.

The author follows the typical propagandist — rather than scholarly — line of identifying the Austrian Socialists with democracy, and their opponents are therefore, automatically Fascists. This is the basic weakness of Dr. Gulick's long work. His identification of Austro-Marxism with democracy is unconvincing to anyone who

knows that Marxists are democrats only through expediency and only temporarily — as leaders of the party which Dr. Gulick defends insist themselves. It is, therefore hard to believe the author so naive as to think that Bauer, Renner, Adler and other socialist leaders were "sincere democrats." But this is the theme of both volumes. The author, therefore, defends hypocrisy on the part of the Socialists, as when they answered Bela Kun's invitation to set up a Marxist state in Vienna; and he condemns their enemies of "Jesuitry" for making statements that he decides — often on insufficient evidence — were insincere.

Had the author not been so eager to justify the Socialists and make them out "sincere democrats," his indictment of the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg party would have been more telling. For there is no doubt that the latter group made serious mistakes, and there is little doubt that they were not democratic in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the term. But the author has condemned the group he labels "Clerical Fascists" in advance. His two volumes are written to furnish evidence for the indictment.

A mature student of socio-politics will nevertheless, find *Austria From Hapsburg to Hitler* a valuable work, for it contains a wealth of information on social, economic, cultural, and political events in Austria between the two World Wars. The mature student can use such information judiciously, if he is careful not to take sides either with or against the author in his constant, and sometimes intemperate editorializing in favor of the Socialist party.

Austria is a case-history of the struggle between socialist and anti-socialist forces. Both sides made serious blunders; both sides may have been basically wrong in ideals and objectives. But a partisan account, such as Dr. Gulick's, makes the reader feel he has heard one side only. Now he wants to hear the other. Perhaps from the two he can work out his own story of what happened — and do his own editorializing. The mature student cannot

help feeling insulted by almost 2,000 pages in which the author injects his personal opinion into the narrative. Such editorializing is unnecessary when events warrant the author's conclusions; it is brash when they do not.

THOMAS P. NEILL
Saint Louis University

CONSTITUTIONAL DICTATORSHIP.

—By Clinton L. Rossiter. Princeton University Press, 1948. viii, 322 pp. \$5.00.

Can a constitutional, democratic government, designed to function under normal, peaceful conditions, meet the exigencies of a great national crisis? It is the contention of the author that it cannot; that the government must have more power and the people fewer rights; that it must convert itself, or be converted, into a dictatorship exercising strong, arbitrary power; and that, nevertheless, this dictatorship may be constitutional and the democracy of the nation saved. The problem, then, is to discover how such a constitutional dictatorship may be created, freed from the ordinary limitations of constitution or statute, and yet prevented from being a mere despotism. And this problem is acute, for while in the early pages of this book crisis government appears to be a mere temporary expedient, towards the end the suggestion is made that such government may in the future be the rule rather than the exception.

Light is thrown on the problem by an historical, analytical study of the institution of dictatorship in the ancient Roman republic and of the kinds of crisis government met with in four modern republics or democracies—the Weimar republic with its famous Article 48, the French device of the state of siege, the British cabinet and American presidential dictatorships. The material here presented is for the most part familiar to political students, but the analysis of these crisis governments, of their actual mode of operation, of their strength and weakness, is useful and at times provocative. Eleven principles are arrived at inductively to guide the United States in preparing for its critical future.

It is a commonplace of sound political theory that private interest and liberty must be curtailed as far as the common

good demands. A government does not really merit the name of dictatorship merely because it is stronger and more energetic in times of emergency, and the author acknowledges that the term is somewhat strained in its application to American experience. But it is disturbing to see how restricted a role is accorded the legislature for the future. Its function is to turn over broad discretionary powers to a legislative executive. Its collective competence to effect a more precise policy or program is brushed aside and complete faith must be reposed in a buoyant and (it is hoped) benign autocrat. The records of the past 16 years make such an estimate of the future plausible, even prophetic, but not entirely palatable.

Political students will find *Constitutional Dictatorship* worthy of study.

REV. FRED V. KENNEDY, S.J.
West Baden College

MARRIAGE FOR MODERNS (second edition). — By Henry A. Bowman. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1948. xi, 544 pp. \$4.00.

The revision includes additions, a few deletions, occasional rewording and bringing statistical material up to date. The Rh factor is discussed briefly, there is a new section on the role of religion in marital adjustment — well-intended but somewhat vague—and tables summarizing the marriage and divorce laws of the individual states are appended. But those familiar with the original (1942) work will find this edition substantially unchanged. There are the same good features, occasionally improved, the same inadequacies, inherent in the very nature of the work, and the same defects, which might have been corrected had some qualified scholar been sufficiently interested to point them out to the author.

Marriage for Moderns, one of the more popular texts in non-Catholic colleges, is based on the author's marriage courses and student contacts at Stephens College, Columbia, Mo. It aims at familiarizing students with "facts, principles, attitudes, and problems" which are likely to play a part in their own marriages. It is intended to be practical, and the emphasis is on motivations, attitudes and behavior that will lead to success in marriage. The students are warned of the dangers in-

herent in petting, of the frequently disastrous results of premarital intercourse, of the additional obstacles to success normally involved in mixed (Catholic and non-Catholic) marriage. In these and most other instances Bowman handles his material well, but with limitations that are partly self-imposed and partly prescribed by the book's intended use as a text in a secular milieu.

It is chiefly these limitations which, from a Catholic point of view, render the work as a whole inadequate and even vitiate parts of it. For Bowman has to give his advice about marriage while professing that he does not know what it is all about. "What we have said in an earlier chapter is repeated here. We know nothing about natural purposes; we know only functions" (p. 453). And if one knows nothing about the "natural" (i.e. the objective as opposed to the merely subjective) purpose or end of an institution or behavior pattern or faculty, one knows nothing about its proper use or function. Hence Bowman is unconcerned about any social function marriage might have or about any obligations married individuals might have to God, to society, or even to themselves. He is certain only of this, that marriage can be used as a means of attaining a high degree of personal happiness, and that certain attitudes and types of behavior militate against this goal. Beyond that he does not venture.

In professing himself ignorant of any objective end of marriage, Bowman necessarily limits himself to inadequacy in discussing conduct in marriage—unless, that is, we are to assume that man is not a moral being. This limitation, however, if acknowledged and consistently respected, can be defended as valid, or even desirable, in certain circumstances. Bowman, then, would have been well advised to limit himself, for the sake of consistency, to the aspects of birth control which do not directly involve its morality. Instead, he attempts to refute the *moral* arguments against contraception. In fact, his claim to know nothing about objective ends is used as a premise in his "refutation"! And he is actually so naive as to think that when moralists say contraception is "unnatural" they mean merely that it is an interference with physical nature and base their conclusion on the general principle that any and every interference with physi-

cal nature is "unnatural" to man and therefore immoral. This same naivete in matters involving morality persists throughout the rather lengthy advocacy of contraception and—is it strange?—the opposition to the use of the "safe period."

Not only in spite of its defects, but partly because of its defects, this book can be of value to educated Catholics. The reasons against petting, premarital intercourse, and mixed marriage are persuasive. Nor are they unsound, though entirely amoral and hence inadequate. It is also instructive to see the ways in which our position on a matter like birth control can be misinterpreted in a book that otherwise gives evidence of being well intended. Is the author entirely to blame? Or is he to be excused, partly at least because of our tendency, especially in popular writings, to sacrifice clarity and thoroughness regarding fundamentals (such as the meaning of "unnatural") in order to be simple and brief?

L. P. MCHATTIE, S.J.
St. Louis University

SOME NOTES ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PIERRE JANET.—By Elton Mayo, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1948. 126 pp. plus index. \$2.50.

The author is Professor of Industrial Research, Emeritus, Harvard university. He has also written *The Human problem of an Industrialist Civilization*, *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization* and *The Political Problem of Industrial Civilization*. From the title, the present book would seem to be a departure from the field of the practical, but it is not so in ultimate purpose. "Janet's discussion of obsessive thinking has a special interest for those of us who are mainly concerned with problems of individual psychology and of social relationships" (p. 104). "Obsessive thinking is an ill of education and therefore of immense interest to students of sociology and psychology" (p. 107). The author's hope is that the leads furnished by Janet will enable the student "to understand intelligently the social (or industrial) situations he is studying" (p. 109).

The case material in the book carries along interestingly in spite of difficulties in terminology. Hysteria is an example

he makes it the equivalent of Double Personality (p. 30), which is a restriction of its ordinary use. Later (p. 39) he speaks of "shell-shock" as "transient hysteria." This is current usage, for he cannot mean to identify all shell-shock cases as examples of Double Personality. The reader would be helped by clear definitions of the body of the text or by the addition of a glossary of terms as the author understands and uses them.

The main problem considered in the book is "obsessive thinking" (p. 6). It chiefly afflicts the intelligent, making it impossible for them to assume responsibility, since decisions are an agony. If they do force themselves to decide, "characteristic mental exhaustion supervenes" (p. 79). A source of the indecision is "that the obsessive lacks social and other skills" (p. 107). He has a feeling of personal unreality and is convinced of his own worthlessness. Obsessive thinking is sometimes taken for hysteria or paranoia. The author says it is neither.

Frequent citation of Janet's works explain the physiology and the psychology of the obsessive. The chief value of the book is the acquaintance it provides with Janet's thought. Explicit suggestions are not given of how practical benefits might be derived.

REGINALD R. LEFEBVRE, S.J.
West Baden College

LOCAL LABOR MARKET RESEARCH, A Case Study.—By Dale Yoder and Donald G. Paterson, Co-Directors. Published for the Industrial Relations Center by the University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1948. xvii, 226 pp. \$3.50.

When the municipal authorities of St. Paul, Minnesota, discovered that relief expenditures unexpectedly remained at a high level despite increasing employment, they asked the Employment Stabilization research institute of the University of Minnesota to solve the riddle. The Institute, in collaboration with many civic groups and leaders, undertook the task of ferreting out the answer. This book is the fruit of their painstaking investigation.

Since the book is necessarily rather technical, it will not appeal strongly to the general reader. However, it will interest students of social sciences, of public administration and of social service, not to

mention public officials. It is especially important as an example of methodology in the field of local labor market research. It is likewise important as an example of cooperation between the university and the community and as an application of social science research to a living social problem. This book may well be studied with a view to employing the same techniques in analyzing other local labor markets, since the St. Paul market is typical rather than unique.

One of the important fruits of this study is that it has developed more reliable means than those heretofore available for providing data concerning current employment conditions. Another significant phase of the study is the elaboration of techniques for determining job opportunities, their location, remuneration and duration.

The book contains numerous tables and several appendices.

CORNELIUS A. ELLER, S.J.
I.S.S.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HUMANITY. — By Pitirim A. Sorokin. The Beacon Press, Boston, 1948. 247 pp. \$3.00.

This is the latest social encyclical from the pen of the self-constituted pope of the next era's religion. It is a brief, popular foreshadowing of the author's monumental and definitive work, *Types, Techniques, and Varieties of Religious Experiences*.

Like the *Crisis of Our Age*, this present volume contains some withering and trenchant criticism of our contemporary sensate culture. Sorokin's best passages are indeed mere rewrites of those of the former work, now brought up to date to grapple with the new problems of peace in the atomic age.

For his social reconstruction of humanity, Sorokin pins his faith on the sociology of religion. He engages in elephantine antics in pursuit of the long-discredited analogies of comparative religion and does comparatively poor work in rediscovering them.

Sorokin has come far from his 1928 concept of sociology as a factual, quantitative, behavioristic science. He used to denounce those who preach what "should or should not be, ought or ought not be" socially. Now he has reversed his stand

and has produced this tract of the times much in the vein of William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, of which he is now enamoured.

Sorokin is recommended for his irritant value. Possibly, if he succeeds in goading us into rediscovering and re-interpreting the social values of Catholicism, he will have served his purpose and contributed something toward the social reconstruction of humanity.

ALBERT S. FOLEY, S.J.
University of North Carolina

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THE PEACE. — By Ernst Juenger (tr. Stuart O. Hood). Regnery, Hinsdale, Illinois, 1948. 77 pp. \$2.00.

THE POET AND HIS TIMES. — By Ernst Wiechert. Regnery, Hinsdale, Illinois, 1948. 78 pp. \$2.00.

These are minor works by two outstanding German authors, better known in America for *The Marble Cliffs* and *Forest of the Dead*, respectively. The two books under review are much more restrained than Juenger's anti-Nazi allegory of invasion or Wiechert's moving account of his sufferings and spiritual experiences in Buchenwald.

Juenger was a violent German nationalist in the period between the two wars, his ideas helping to form the spirit which brought Hitler to Germany. Never a Nazi, he changed completely in the course of the war and wrote *The Peace* while it was still in progress.

Tertullian called the blood of martyrs the seed of Christians; Juenger hopes that the blood and suffering of countless thousands will be the seed of a lasting peace. His proposals are not formulated in detail; they present, rather, an ideal to be striven for. He calls for the creation of Europe, one Christian nation. The state is to be authoritarian in matters of industry, commerce, communications; free in cultural and religious affairs.

More important than the details is the spirit of brotherhood, of justice, of morality that pervades the book.

The three addresses by Ernst Wiechert are masterpieces of courage and hopeful-

ness. The oldest of them was delivered to students at the University of Munich in 1935. It is a direct attack upon Nazi ideas in the fields of literature, education and culture, and, by implication, a frontal attack on National Socialism. For his opposition he was eventually sent to Buchenwald, where he remained until the end of the war.

The other two addresses were delivered after the war, one to the youth of Germany, at Munich in 1945, the other sent to his friends in Switzerland in 1947. He surveys the whole tragic history of Germany from the coming of the "great promoters" to the final despair.

But the address is full of hope. You must saturate the world with love, must renew the blood of a nation and wash away the shame from the face of a whole nation.

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OUR THREATENED VALUES. — By Victor Gollancz. Regnery, Hinsdale, Illinois, 1947. 218 pp. \$2.50.

This unified essay, written in the spring of 1946, is a plea for more humane treatment of Germany. Mr. Gollancz says then what has become increasingly clear in the intervening two years, namely, that in Germany, the Soviet Union and the West were counterpoised. Because the two great forces would meet and fight on the battleground of Germany — and the fate of Germany would largely determine the future — Mr. Gollancz demanded a re-evaluation of policy.

We are endangering our greatest values — respect for the human person — in many ways, by reviving nationalism, by a blundering and sometimes contradictory occupation policy, by forced labor of POWs by a general decline of morality. If there is not a change, we shall certainly lose the field to Communism.

The book is an admirable plea, not only for decency to the German people but for the spiritual values of our civilization. Our leaders have in the past twenty years made some of the changes which Mr. Gollancz demanded, but it must be admitted that they were introduced more from expediency than from justice and charity.

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